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SOCIALISTIC,  
COMMUNISTIC, MUTUALISTIC,  
AND  
FINANCIAL FRAGMENTS.

BY  
*Author*  
WILLIAM B. GREENE.



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## P R E F A C E.

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THE compiler of this pamphlet has written and published more newspaper articles, books, and pamphlets than he can now remember, or cares to be reminded of, in vindication of "individual sovereignty." Owing, however, to some perversity inhering in his nature, he has always refused, heretofore, to write or publish any thing for which there was any known or conceivable existing call. He is informed, now, that an interest has been awakened in respect to certain ideas of his which have been slumbering before the public for more than a quarter of a century. It has also been intimated to him, that he would do well to write and publish something new. He has, fortunately for the public, nothing new to write or publish. He will, however, for once in his life, in answer to a suggested call, try to gather together such fragments of *articles written by him as may serve to put in a clear*

light definitive arguments that he has been in the habit of putting forward, and which have never yet been otherwise replied to than by simple inarticulate ejaculations. He adds to these fragments such other documents — written by himself or by other persons — as may serve to render them more intelligible. No special order of dates will be observed. As the older fragments are of the more recent interest, they will be given last.

W. B. G.

[From the Princeton "Word."]

## LETTER TO COL. WILLIAM B. GREENE.

*Dear Sir*,—I have read your communication in the August number of the "Word," on the subject of free love. Perhaps no subject is at the same time so important, so much talked about, and so little understood. You call it a "muddle." To the schoolboy, mathematics is a muddle. That intelligent persons like yourself are *muddled*, is the fault, to some extent, perhaps, of those who profess to understand the subject, and have undertaken to expound it. While I do not presume to speak for all who may style themselves "free-lovers," I think I am safe in saying that you misapprehend entirely the free-love movement. It is not at all an "attack upon other people's privileges," excepting the privilege of holding slaves; nor is it at all a mere attempt to patch up the marriage-system. To make the case plain by a familiar comparison, the free-love movement is very like the Garrison movement for the abolition of chav

tel slavery. We *do* propose the utter ABOLITION of marriage : in other words, we propose the complete emancipation of woman ; which emancipation will *constitute* the abolition of marriage. While, however, the freedom of woman is the major fact, practically, of course all laws interfering with the freedom of man will have to go by the board.

You quote the United States Constitution, and infer that the abolition of marriage would violate a given provision. If so, it cannot be helped ; but I think not. No innocent contracts will be interfered with by the abolition of marriage. Suppose you go to a brothel, and make a "contract" with one of its inmates, who, on getting possession of the pecuniary consideration, refuses to fulfil on her part ; can you compel compliance, or a refunding of the money, under State law ? If not, does the State law violate the United States Constitution ? A "contract" to cohabit on a single occasion does not differ in character from a "contract" to cohabit indefinitely, or for a lifetime. Of course, people will be perfectly free, after marriage is abolished, to make all the contracts they please ; and all of them that are innocent in character can and should be enforced. A contract, however, to cohabit for an indefinite time, or during life, is in its nature essentially vicious. Such contract is *prima facie* evidence of an intention to commit prostitution. The idea that lovers would ever need to make a contract to manifest their love to each other is, of course, ridiculous. The only use of the contract, or of the *marriage-bond*, is to insure cohabitation in case there is not sufficient love to insure it. All such cohabita-

tion is, in the estimation of all right-minded people, prostitution.

The abolition of marriage, in other words the emancipation of woman, in other words the inauguration of free love, is simply the abolition of slavery. People will be at perfect liberty to engage in, or observe, all the *ceremonies* they please; and they can call them marriage ceremonies, or free-love ceremonies, or any thing else that suits them better. They will be equally free to neglect, or refuse to observe, any ceremonies whatever; and parties can live together in any way they please, and so long as they please. And they can cohabit only with whom and when there is the highest order of love, or with whom and when there is only a moderate degree, or with whom and when there is none at all. And they can also make just such other arrangements as they please, or none at all. Government will interfere only (but always in such case) where and when there is a trespass upon a natural right.

Respectfully,

FRANCIS BARRY.

RAVENNA, O., September, 1874.

[From the Princeton "Word."]

**THE SUBSTITUTION OF "MUTUALITY" IN THE  
STEAD OF "CONSOLIDATION" AS THE LAW OF  
MARRIAGE.**

BOSTON, MASS., Oct. 10, 1874.

MR. FRANCIS BARRY. *Dear Sir*.—In your letter to me, printed in this month's "Word," you define the scope of the "free-love movement" by saying, "We

*do* propose the utter ABOLITION of marriage." (The Italics and small capitals are yours.) You then go on, in a mystical way, without assigning any reasons whatever for your affirmations, to assimilate the absolute nature of marriage with the absolute nature of slavery, and the emancipation of woman with the utter abolition of marriage. Speaking like the Pythoress on the tripod, and therefore not scientifically, but inspirationally, you make the seemingly idiosyncratic affirmation, that the inauguration of free love is the equivalent of an abolition of marriage and slavery. It is plain to me that you use the terms, "marriage," "emancipation," "abolition," "love," "freedom," "slavery," and the like, in senses altogether foreign to my experience, and that I shall understand your meaning then only when you condescend to tell me the precise signification you attach to common words. In the ordinary sense of the words, "marriage," "emancipation," "love" and "slavery," your equations of the abolition of marriage with the emancipation of woman, of the emancipation of woman with the inauguration of free love, and of this last with the abolition of slavery, are interesting, because coming from you, but void of instructiveness, because utterly unintelligible. What do the words "free love" mean? Judging from your own statements, I am justified in concluding that *you* mean by free love what other persons designate by the words "sexual promiscuity;" for you say expressly (I will quote your own words): After the inauguration of free love, "*Parties can live together in any way they please, and so long as they please. And they can cohabit only with whom and*

when there is the highest order of love, and with whom and when there is only a moderate degree, and with whom and when there is none at all. *And they can also make just such other arrangements as they please, or none at all.*" If I misrepresent you, say so, and I will take back all I have said. The ideal of free love, as I understand you to explain it, is embodied in the marriage-relation of the canine race, where every gentleman dog is the unmarried husband of every lady dog, and where every lady dog is the unmarried wife of every gentleman dog. But this definition of yours is of no general value, because it is the individual definition of a single free-lover, a definition repudiated by other free-lovers, and throwing, therefore, no adequate light on the scope of "the free-love movement."

It is hard to say what Mrs. Woodhull means by free love; but she certainly intends something other than the programme you explain. Sometimes she seems to mean what was formerly called *true love*, and of which the course is said "to never run smooth." She seems to affirm that cohabitation without *true love* is prostitution. Mrs. Heywood seems to define free love as *sentimental love*, or *refined love*, or, rather, *love as experienced by refined people*, such as was written about in the novels of a hundred years ago. Mr. Heywood holds his wife's bonnet in this particular, and therefore does not agree with you. Mr. Heywood is capable (when he sees fit to exercise his native or acquired faculty) of writing plain English, and would confer a favor by explaining (1) what he really means by *free love*, and (2) by showing how, under his own defini-

tion, he acquires the especial right (which he claims) to publicly expose persons who practise your principles at their own personal cost. Mr. Heywood has not, to my knowledge, exposed anybody as yet; but he claims the right to hold up to public derision all free-lovers of your sort, and to pluck the masks from their faces, if they attempt any disguise. This pretension seems to me to be exorbitant. From what special aspect of the free-love principle does Mr. Heywood, who himself believes in individual sovereignty, derive the right to make inquisition into other people's private conduct, to arraign other people before a mob court of newspaper readers, and to himself act as executioner? If Mr. Heywood will write out an intelligible definition of free love, I will guarantee that his definition shall be effectually scrutinized.

You differ, however, no more from Mr. and Mrs. Heywood, and from Victoria Woodhull, than you do from many others who fight under the free-love banner. Mrs. Stanton, Mrs. Laura Cuppy Smith, and even Moses Hull, and, in fact, all the advocates of free love I ever came across, take grounds exclusive of yours. Your statement, being that of one man only, cannot be received as conclusive. The question, What is free love? remains unanswered. With some, perhaps with many, free love means, as it means with you, liberty for sexual promiscuity. [I thought this was Moses Hull's doctrine; but he tells me I am mistaken.] With others, it means that women incompetent to maternal functions ought to *be excused from* performing them. With others, it means pure sentimentalism, and gives ground for the

now-famous distinction between the free-lovers and the free-lusters. With others, it means opportunities for unmasking hypocrites, and of exposing them to public scorn. With others, it means opportunities for panel-thieving, black-mailing, and malicious assaults upon reputations, and, as such, receives and merits the execration of all right-minded men and women. With others, it means opportunities for unsettling the foundations of property. With others, it means a protest against the laws of marriage, which, as many allege, have become an intolerable outrage. And so on to the end of the chapter.

You say, "We *do* propose the utter ABOLITION of marriage." I think there are very few persons who will approve of your proposition. Marriage is a contract to which there are three consenting parties, (1) a woman, (2) a man, and (3) the organic society of which the man and woman are members. The organic society, which is one of the contracting parties, is represented at the marriage-ceremony by an authorized priest, a minister, a civil magistrate, or else by competent witnesses. The contract of marriage (like all other contracts) can be annulled by the consent of *all* the contracting parties ; and such annulling, when authenticated by a legislative body, or by a competent court, is called *a divorce* by mutual consent. Marriages may also be annulled by decrees of tribunals representing the organic society, whenever the contracts are shown to have been originally vitiated by inadequacy, or fraud, or to have subsequently become vitiated by *crime*, or other sufficient cause. But the abolition of marriage you propose, which is no mere

generalization of the law of divorce, but an annihilation of marriage itself, would involve an arbitrary and invidious withdrawal of the sanction of the organic society from contracts made between men and women for the regulation of their respective interests as contracting men and women. The utter abolition of marriage means a sacrifice of the women and children for the benefit of the grown men, and a destruction of the social guaranties by which the rights of women and children are protected. What, after all, is the end, aim, and object of marriage? It is, according to the popular belief, the securing of the reciprocal happiness of the husband and wife, and the procreation and education of children. Marriage may be polygamic, monogamic, polyandric, complex according to the Oneida pattern, or other, and is true marriage (I do not say perfect marriage) so long as it promotes the happiness of the persons married, and the procreation, support, and education of children, and so long as it is founded on the joint free contract of the persons married, and remains under the sanction of the organic society of which those persons are members. The immediate abolition of the Turkish and Mormon marriage-laws, with the substitution of no new marriage-laws in their stead, would not be at all in the interest of the women and children of Turkey and Utah. Marriage exists now; and such utter abolition of it as you propose might be accompanied by serious inconveniences. For instance: suppose Maria and John to take each other for their *reciprocal* happiness, and for the procreation and *education of children*; then suppose Maria to give birth

to six children in eleven years, and to suckle them, and to be used up in health by the process. Such things occur. Suppose John to get tired of Maria, and to take Susan Jane in her stead, casting Maria off ; suppose Maria, having no other means of support, to go to the poor-house with her children ; and suppose John to use up Susan Jane as he did Maria, and to take up with Sarah Ann, leaving Susan Jane and her children to join Maria in the poor-house. Would there be no injustice here ? Has a man, who himself bears no children, a moral right to throw the whole burthen of children, he being the begetter of them, on the woman who bears them ? Has he a right to absolutely get off without making any compensation whatever, by simply repudiating the woman who, through him, has lost her health, her beauty, and all her prospects for future marriage ? The Old Testament says, "Jehovah hateth putting-away." In my humble opinion, the hatred is well merited. And mark, if you regulate this matter, if you do justice to the woman, if you decree that she is entitled to compensation, and fix the principle on which the compensation is to be computed, you establish marriage-laws, and your abolition of marriage goes utterly by the board. If you say, "The woman had no right to have children, for there are means of preventing increase," then I leave you to the stringent disapprobation of all right-minded persons who overhear your remark. If you say, "Let the children be cared for at the public expense, either in the poor-house, or elsewhere," then I answer you, that the *average American tax-payer* is not yet ready to be

mulcted for the support of children not of his own begetting.

The free-love doctrine is profounder, and better grounded, than you appear to imagine. You may be gray-haired in the profession of it ; but you are, in my humble opinion, if I understand you at all rightly, a mere suckling in the appreciation of it. The existing marriage-laws sink the existence of the woman in that of the man. The woman is legally "covered" by the man. The women demand that the old principle of "consolidation," by which the woman is nothing, and the man is every thing, shall be replaced by the principle of "federation," under which the woman may become something. They demand that the marriage-relation shall no longer be a centralized government, vested solely in the man, but that it shall become a federal union of the man and the woman ; the two exercising together a collective sovereignty, not over each other, but over such minor members of the family, as — because of imbecility or immaturity — are not yet clothed with sovereignty by nature, and still require protection and care. What the American Democrats demand under the formula of "State's rights," and the French Communists demand under the explicit formula of "federation," is now demanded by the American women in the matter of marriage. It is marriage-reform, not the abolition of marriage, that the women are calling for. The principle of "mutuality" — originally enunciated by Jesus in his ethical discourses, and at the existing moment of history for the first time consciously and intelligently accepted *among men* — is now being put forward by the

American women as the ideal law of the marriage-relation.

It has been the misfortune of the American women that they have never yet recognized the fact, that mutuality in marriage cannot be realized as divorced from mutuality in finance. When they come to appreciate the situation, they will join the more advanced labor-reformers in the demand for a mutualization of the currency. As soon as they get ready to ask questions on this point, Mr. Heywood — or, if not Mr. Heywood, then Mr. Benjamin Skinner — will put them on the right track for obtaining answers. It is commonly affirmed that our existing marriages are Christian. There is not any thing Christian (nor even any thing Jewish) about them. They are Pagan. The laws respecting the separate property of married women, made by the Massachusetts legislature of 1873-74, virtually annul the marriage-relation as it heretofore existed in Massachusetts. Under the progressive legislation of Massachusetts in respect to property, Christian marriage is gradually becoming possible; and, when Christian marriage shall once obtain in Massachusetts, Massachusetts property will be changed in its essential basis, and turned upside down, and end for end. It will not be abolished, but it will be transmuted, reformed.. Touch property, and you touch marriage: touch marriage, and you touch property. Under the peculiar organization of property which we have inherited with the English laws, and which still appears to many of us, perhaps to the majority of us, as natural and just, while it is, in *reality, the contrary of natural and just, just marriage is impossible.*

The American women demand mutuality, which implies equality, in marriage: they ask to re-enter upon the use of their own confiscated personalities. They demand federation between the husband and the wife, to the exclusion of consolidation; and such federation shuts out all confiscation of the wife's personality. They claim that their individual sovereignties over their own personalities, and whatsoever inheres in their personalities, forming a part of them, or essential to them, are, of right, inalienable, and, when wrongfully alienated, to be immediately restored to them. At the least, it is so that I understand the inarticulate and almost universal outcries of the women. They do not demand promiscuity; they do not demand license; they know not exactly what they do demand: but they know instinctively that they are demanding a marriage-relation based on a more just ground, and therefore on a holier ground, than any that was known to the Anglo-Saxon and Norman hogs, our ancestors, from whose Pagan marriage-customs our existing marriage-laws are derived.

Respectfully,

WM. B. GREENE.

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**NOTE.**—Mr. Heywood's theory of the "Criticism-cure" for existing evils—a theory he is said to hold in common with the more radical of the antislavery and female suffrage agitators—seems to be this: "No man has a right to complain or protest, when acts performed by him in private are made the subject of public praise or censure; for either the acts brought suddenly to light are praiseworthy, and the man assailed is benefited by their publication, or else they are disreputable.

Again : if the acts charged are disreputable, they are either falsely charged, in which case the public accusation gives the accused party an opportunity to publicly show the falsity of the allegations, and to vindicate his reputation ; or, on the other hand, the alleged disreputable facts are truly charged, and, in this last case, the accused party has no rights that the public is called upon to respect." We think we have stated Mr. Heywood's position correctly.

This doctrine is in every way untenable. A man has a natural right to not let his left hand know what his right hand does. Moreover, both common sense and the Eleventh Article of the Massachusetts Bill of Rights recognize that the individual citizen ought to be guaranteed against wanton assaults upon his private character. The individual citizen of full age, and not convicted of crime, has a right to decide for himself how he will employ his own time. His time is his. But, if Mr. Heywood's doctrine is true, no man has any control over his own avocations ; for the first numskull, or intriguer, or malicious person who comes along, may say, for instance, that Peter stole a sheep. Suppose Peter to be a man engaged in investigations of high science. Forthwith, according to the doctrine of the "Criticism-cure," Peter must give up his scientific investigations, and the tranquillity of mind requisite for successful scientific investigation, in order that he may turn his whole energy to the defence of his private character. Justly-acquired good reputation, if it is to be maintained at such extravagant cost, is not worth having. The "Criticism-cure" may do very well in the Oneida community ; but among right-thinking, self-respecting men and women, who repudiate communism, it assumes the form of a public nuisance, and is the quintessence of supercilious inquisition and tyranny. It puts all the men and women, wherever it is enforced, who amount to something, in the power of every booby and mischief-maker who amounts to nothing. Peter would say, probably,—

" My arraignment, — not before any lawfully constituted and sworn court, — not through the action of any sworn public prosecuting-officer, — not in consequence of any finding of a *grand jury*, — *on the charge that I stole a sheep*, is an outrage

upon my right to live an individual life. If I make answer to the charge, I become a consenting party to the confiscation of my own right. If I put myself on my defence, I become an accomplice in the wrong done me. The attack made upon me is an outrage on my natural liberty. I stand on my right to not be attacked in my private character. I have a right to not defend myself, and *I refuse to defend myself.*"

Gratuitous criticism, when it invades personal sovereignty, is always a wanton outrage. It is written, "Judge not, that ye be not judged." The greatest outrage upon individual liberty is the outrage committed by a person who constitutes himself an inquisitor and judge in matters that are none of his business. The right to arraign for trial, and to judge, is the highest prerogative of sovereignty; and the usurpation of this right is a criminal confiscation of the sovereignty of the person tried and judged. The wanton denouncer of private character, the stirrer-up of mischief which would have subsided of itself if left alone, so far from being "a public benefactor," is an enemy of individual liberty, and a person to be summarily excommunicated from the society of all right-thinking men and women. The plea of the malicious tale-bearer, that he is acting in the interest of public morals, and that his story, if not true, can be refuted, is an aggravation of his crime. Who appointed him to be the guardian of public morals? What right has he to usurp functions that were never lawfully devolved upon him?

The methods usually employed by lawyers in cross-examining witnesses in court are an outrage on individual sovereignty and natural right; and they are, moreover, in distinct violation of the Twelfth Article of the "Declaration of the Rights of the Inhabitants of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts." The peculiar mission of the Quakers, in the matter of "law-reform," is not more than half accomplished, as yet, in this country. The legislation which puts men and women on the stand, or allows them to be put there, to testify in cases where the question of their own character and criminality is involved, is barbarous. It is a return to the ancient system of extorting *testimony by torture* only it substitutes moral torture in the *stead of physical torture*; and the new practice is worse than

the ancient one. If the lawyer is to be the judge of the questions he puts, the witness ought to be the judge of such answers as he may see fit to make. No man is naturally responsible for what he says under the application of torture. "*Nemo in propria causa testis esse debet.*" "*Nemo tenetur seipsum accusare.*" It is to be hoped that some Quaker, or other non-resistant, will bear his testimony against this practice of the lawyers, and contest its legitimacy.

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#### THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE.

BY WILLIAM B. GREENE.

TOWN and State paupers are persons notoriously incapable of supporting themselves, because demonstrably devoid of the faculties demanded for a successful administration of their own private affairs. Being incompetent to acquit themselves with credit in matters with which they are presumably conversant, they cannot be trusted to exercise sovereignty in matters pertaining to the general welfare. Paupers are persons and people; but they are not *voting* people.

Insane persons and idiots are notorious for their incapacity for self-government, and have, by law, and on account of their incapacity, guardians appointed over them to prevent them from injuring themselves and others. It is with a view to the public good, that the privilege of voting is denied to maniacs and underwitted people, and simply for the reason that the privilege of voting cannot be intrusted to irresponsible hands. Idiots and madmen are persons and people; but they are not *voting* people.

Persons convicted of infamous crimes are stamped, and by the very fact of their conviction, with the seal of their own immorality. Convicts, as such, furnish no guaranty of good intentions. No confidence can be felt, that, in any of their acts, they really mean to do right : they are entitled, therefore, to no lot or part in the government of the well-meaning and virtuous portion of the community. Convicts are persons and people ; but they are not *voting* people.

Paupers, lunatics, and idiots, and convicted knaves, are all of them *persons*, all of them *people* ; and yet the elective franchise is denied them, *and justly denied them*. The theory is false, therefore, which teaches that the elective franchise is a natural and inalienable right of man as man ; for we have already found three enumerated classes of men, who, in every well-regulated community, are debarred from the privilege of voting.

Society, in its collective capacity, when it confers the right of voting upon some of the individuals who compose it, to the exclusion of others, acts, or ought to act, with a view to the good of the whole people ; and it places, or ought to place, the governmental power, or actual political sovereignty, exclusively in the hands of such of its members as are presumably capable of exercising it for the common welfare. The *natural* people, the whole community, includes, on the one side, all the men, women, and children,—wise persons and fools, sober-minded persons and lunatics, honest people and scoundrels,—who are subjects of the government. The *legal* people includes, *on the other side*, that part of the natural people, and

that part only, which, having by positive law a right to vote, has been legitimately clothed with political sovereignty. The legal voter is a public officer, duly constituted as such, and represents, on the average, five or more non-voters, who are women, children, or men deprived of the suffrage. It is comparatively seldom that any one can possess a just claim to vote in his own right only. The elective franchise is a trust, and not a right; a duty imposed on the voter, not with a view to his own good only, or to his own presumed natural right, but with a view to the general welfare. The demand for the ballot ought never, therefore, to be made by the claimant in his own behalf only, but should also be made in behalf of the persons dependent upon him for support and protection, and who are entitled to be represented by a legal voter whose interests are identified with their own.

Every social compact implies the prior existence of the special society which makes it. Organic society does not, therefore, *originate* in any compact. Society is older than government. But every persisting society implies the existence of government and laws; for a society without government and laws is at once overturned by its madmen and scoundrels, and lapses into barbarism. Government and laws are naturally determined by the conditions of society, and are divinely instituted (that is to say, exist by a natural necessity established by Nature's Maker) for the protection of the honest and sober-minded portion of the community against knaves and fanatics.

Women tell us, from their platforms, that they must and will have the ballot, in order to be enabled, by

processes of legislation, to stop the men's liquor and tobacco. Other legislation, of a similar nature, and of wide application, is also proposed by women. This talk is symptomatic of intellectual and moral immaturity on their part. The sovereignty which is freely given to the women from affection, and by which they exercise control over the habits and manners of the men, will be taken from such of them, and ought to be taken from such of them, as try to ground their empire in positive law. If any real and genuine desire exists, on the side of the women, to be recognized by the men as having reached the age of political majority, and if they really wish to see their names inscribed on the voting-lists, it might not be amiss for the more prominent leaders of them to make an immediate and radical change of tactics. An increased appearance of disinterestedness, and less self-assertion, would work to their advantage.

The maxim, "Taxation without representation is tyranny," which is not at all true absolutely, was temporarily true in America at the time of the American Revolution. The claim of the British parliament to tax the unrepresented colonies in all cases whatsoever, was, practically, a denial of the right of Americans "to acquire, possess, and enjoy *property*." This right is now guaranteed to the women of Massachusetts by the Massachusetts Bill of Rights, which is the most essential part of Massachusetts fundamental law. Such a one-sided and partial exercise by the Massachusetts legislature of the power to tax women, as *would abridge* the right of the women "to acquire, possess, and enjoy *property*," would be vetoed by the

judges, who are all of them sworn "to support the constitution of Massachusetts." The final decision of the judges on the ten-hour law (which abridges the right of a certain class of women "to acquire property," by prohibiting them from working more than ten hours a day) has not yet been definitively rendered. Never, since the beginning of legislation, have so many effectual laws been made for the protection of women's property, at the expense of men's property, as are being made in Massachusetts at the present time. The reformatory women would do well, in the interest of the cause they have at heart, to abstain from incoherent utterances.

Women should ground their claim to the ballot, if they propose to claim it at all, not on the fact of their past opportunities for instruction and culture, not on the fact that they hold, in their own names, the title to revenue-yielding property, but on the fact that they are, themselves, at the existing moment of time, useful and profitable members of the industrially-productive community, or the natural representatives of useful and profitable members. The present injustice done to the working-women, in the matter of deficient wages as compared with men's wages, would soon be cured, if the politicians were made dependent, for their promotion to office, on women's votes. It is hard to assign any valid reason — if we leave out of sight the indications of intellectual and moral imbecility afforded by many of the platform advocates of female suffrage — why women who keep boarding-houses, female physicians and school-teachers, milliners, *mantua-makers*, girls working at wages, and the like, *should not vote*.

H heretofore, many ladies have grounded a claim to the ballot, not on the fact that they are now, or ever have been, producers of wealth, but on the fact that they hold in their hands the results of the economic production of other people, in the form of inherited wealth, on which taxes are leviable; and also on the ground that they are very "accomplished" (if anybody knows what that means), having enjoyed exceptional advantages for instruction and culture. Such ladies owe a debt of gratitude to the Commonwealth, which has protected them, and now protects them, in the enjoyment of their privileges; but the right to vote is no necessary adjunct of the duty to show gratitude.

Culture is, politically speaking, "bosh," humbug. It is, like the horses of the Egyptians, "flesh, and not spirit." It represents the enjoyment of past advantages, and gives no claim on the future. On it, no political right can be grounded. Representative personages of the very first mark, and honorably mentioned in history, have been, many of them, unable to read or write. Moses could both read and write; but Abraham, who was greater than Moses, could do neither of these things.

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[From the Princeton "Word."]

## COMMUNISM VERSUS MUTUALISM.

BY WILLIAM B. GREENE.

COMMUNISM is the form which human association naturally assumes at its origin. It implies the absolute supremacy of the chief, the utter subordination of the associates, and has for its maxim the fraternal "*l<sup>e</sup>.* — each is to work according to his ability, and

each is to receive according to his needs. In human communistic societies, as in the societies of wild horses, cattle, or sheep, all individuality is concentrated in the chief, who is instinctively obeyed by the associates as something extra-natural, and ruling by a mysterious, inscrutable right. The individualities of the associates are, among communistic men, as among sheep, numerical only. Each individual is just like all the others, and does just what the others do. The first very marked step in human progress results from the division of labor. It is the characteristic of the division of labor, and of the economic distribution of tasks, that each individual tends to do precisely what the others don't do. As soon as labor is divided, communism necessarily ceases, and MUTUALISM, the negation of communism, and the reciprocal correlation of each to every other, and of every other to each, for a common purpose, commences. The march of social progress is out of communism into mutualism. Communism sacrifices the individual to secure the unity of the whole. Mutualism has unlimited individualism as the essential and necessary prior condition of its own existence, and co-ordinates individuals without any sacrifice of individuality, into one collective whole, by spontaneous confederation, or solidarity. Communism is the ideal of the past; mutualism, of the future. The garden of Eden is before us, as something to be achieved and attained; not behind us, as something that was lost when labor was divided, tasks were distributed, individualities were encouraged, and communism, or the mere animal and *instinctive social order*, had the sentence pronounced against it, "*Dying, thou shalt surely die.*"

Mutual insurance has shown, by practical exemplification, a little of what the nature, bearings, and workings of the mutualistic principle are. When the currency shall have become mutualized by mutual banks, and the rate of interest on money loaned shall have been brought down to zero per cent per annum, it will become possible to generalize mutual insurance, applying it to all the contingencies of life, so that men, instead of being, as now, antagonistic to each other, shall be so federated with each other, that an accidental loss falling on any one individual shall be a loss to be compensated by all other individuals, while a gain accidentally accruing to any one individual shall fall to the community, and be shared by all. Under the mutual system, each individual will receive the just and exact pay for his work ; services equivalent in cost being exchangeable for services equivalent in cost, without profit or discount ; and so much as the individual laborer will then get over and above what he has earned will come to him as his share in the general prosperity of the community of which he is an individual member. The principle of mutuality in social economy is identical with the principle of federation in politics. Make a note of this last fact. Individual sovereignty is the John the Baptist, without whose coming the mutualistic idea remains void. There is no mutualism without reciprocal consent ; and none but individuals can enter into voluntary mutual relations. Mutualism is the synthesis of liberty and order.

*[In order to more fully explain the doctrine of mutualism, we take the liberty to print the following correspondence, sent to*

us for our perusal. Since we have omitted all of a private or personal nature, we trust the authors will pardon our making public their valuable thoughts.—*Editorial.*]

NORTH ABINGTON, MASS., Sept. 28. 1874.

COL. WILLIAM B. GREENE. *Dear Sir,*—When I made up the essays on interest into a tract, I did so at a venture, i.e., I felt it to be so strong, that it ought to be so used, and I trusted that the means would be provided in due time. Well, now that it is made up, and you are pleased with it, it has occurred to me that you would be willing to share in the cost. It would be practicable, through a few labor reformers who are in the city, to sow a few hundred of these tracts, or, indeed, some thousands, if they were provided; and would not something of the kind be worth your while? The pamphlets you sent have been received. Thanks. There are some striking remarks about God as being alive, in that on the divinity of Jesus. As to banking—is not what men want, the willingness to work together, instead of to lend to each other? Does “The Equity” (newspaper) commend itself to you as of the right temper and strength, so that it ought to live?

Respectfully,

JESSE H. JONES.

BOSTON, MASS., Sept. 29, 1874.

REV. JESSE H. JONES. *Dear Sir,*—Your letter of yesterday, to me, has been duly received. Contents noted. Please find enclosed a check for the money called for. You say, “As to banking, is not what *men want, the willingness to work together, instead*

of to lend to each other?" I reply, that, so far as my experience goes, the willingness of John to help Thomas and Peter in their work usually takes the form of a willingness to lend money to them to help them along. The application to me for help in any work, almost always, perhaps always, assumes the shape of a request for a loan, or, perhaps, a gift, of money. So long as services are estimated in money values, the man who lends money lends aid and service. Money honestly acquired is the representative of services performed, for which the community is still in debt; and the transfer of money from Peter to John is the transfer of claim for wages due, and not yet paid in kind. I don't believe in the Christian communism you advocate. I repudiate it. I believe in *work* and *wages*. The apostles tried Christian communism, and failed. We to-day are no better, to say the least, than the apostles were, and no more competent to command success.

Respectfully,

Wm. B. GREENE.

BOSTON, Oct. 2, 1874.

REV. JESSE H. JONES. *Dear Sir*, — You ask me, in your communication of yesterday, this pregnant question, "As to methods, does it not seem as though the first thing should be a *hearty* brotherly union of feeling, and then such co-operation as can be accomplished?" I have to say, in reply, that the hearts of all living creatures are in the hand of the Almighty, who turns them whithersoever he will. *God has put the associative sentiment into the*

hearts of cattle ; for, otherwise, they would not go in herds : he has also put it into the hearts of wild and tame geese ; for, otherwise, they would not go in flocks, and so on. In man, the associative instinct is, or ought to be, subordinated to reason. The Master says, " Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." Sheep that go in flocks, regulating their motions upon those of their leader, and wolves that go in packs, instinctively organized under special wolves that are their rulers, know many things ; but they don't know *truth*, because they take no cognizance of things supersensual. If you know any truth, state it. I have looked over the numbers of "The Equity," and find in it instinctive and sentimental ejaculations, but no clear statement of any truth. Tell me whether it is with the wolves, or with the sheep, that I ought to have "a hearty brotherly union of feeling," and why. The wild asses of the desert go in herds ; but the lions dwell apart. Who furnish the correct ideal for imitation,—the wild asses, or the lions ? And in what respect is either one of these ideals preferable to the other ? and why ? Ought not both of these ideals to be rejected ? In every nook and corner of your question, there lurks, as it seems to me, the virus of a heresy not at all belonging to your theological environment. What is wanted at this time is not instinctive association based on feeling, followed by unreasoning co-operation, working disaster to the co-operators, but, first of all, that special knowledge which is possessed by men " who *know* their rights, and, *knowing*, dare *maintain*," enabling them to act on Andrew Jackson's

maxim, and "demand nothing that is not clearly right, and submit to nothing that is clearly wrong." Gen. Jackson was an individual lion, and dwelt apart. It was his custom to say, "I take the responsibility." There is also wanted, at this time, secondly, a well thought out mutualistic organism in society, whereby, not animal and instinctive men, but twice-born, or spiritual men, may guarantee and insure each other against the assaults of the Devil's kingdom. The bees and beavers have wrought out the utmost possibility of instinctive co-operation. Sin comes before salvation, and is the condition of it: in like manner, individualism — the utter negation of the sentimental associative principle you celebrate, and the ground of the special social disorder that is of human, and not animal origin — is the indispensable prerequisite of mutualism. Mutualism, the ultimate outbirth of civilization, the triumph of the human element in man over the animal element, is the opposite of the communism which "The Equity" advocates. I go for mutualism, and am against communism and socialism.

Respectfully,

Wm. B. GREENE.

[From the Princeton "Word."]

### ARE LAW-MAKERS SCOUNDRELS? \*

IT is easy to gather that Col. Greene deems the three sections quoted (General Statutes of Massachusetts, Chap. 162, Sects. 18, 19, 20) to be the result of a grand conspiracy of money-lenders. He says that he has never heard of any justification of the law, and that no thinking man now justifies it. It may very well be that he has heard no justification, for he may not have heard the matter discussed at all; but it by no means follows that there is no justification. On examination of the entire chapter (162), we find it to be directed against the crime of "forgery, and offences against the currency." It treats first of forgery of records, contracts, &c., and soon passes to the matter of counterfeit bank-bills, certificates of indebtedness, promissory notes, &c. Coming to Sect. 18, we find a prohibition (under a penalty of fifty dollars per each offence) for the issue, or "passing," of any note, bill, order, or check (other than bank-bills) *with the intent that the same shall circulate as currency.* This is what Col. Greene denounces as "arbitrary, tyrannical, and outrageous," and declares it to have been "made in the interest of a money-lending monopoly." It may be so; but we do not see it. To our mind, it is a very

\* Not knowing the private motives which influence legislators in their individual acts of legislation, the compiler of the present pamphlet is not able to give an intelligent answer to this question. He is not aware that he has ever said, in express terms, "Law-makers are scoundrels." He may have sometimes *thought them to be* scoundrels; but it is sometimes lawful to think *things not lawful to utter.* — W. B. G.

innocent and even laudable piece of legislation, and not at all worthy of the epithets which the colonel heaps upon it. It does not prevent anybody from paying a debt by "check, note, bill, or order;" nor, as we understand it, does it undertake to prevent the payment of half a dozen or more debts with the *same* check.\*

But what the law *does* prohibit is the circulation of checks, notes, &c., *as currency*; and the object is to protect the community against a worthless circulating-medium. A bank-bill has something behind it; and there is security to the public which uses that bill as currency. But the case is very different in regard to individual checks, notes, &c.; for the chances are infinitely greater that the holder of a bank-bill will receive value therefor than that the holder of a note, check, or similar paper issued by some unknown individual, or association of individuals, will be equally fortunate. It is true, that, under the old "State" system of banking, many banks failed, and the bill-holders lost a portion, or the whole, of their claims: but even then there were some pains taken by the legislature to guard the interests of the public; and

\* The compiler of this pamphlet once kept a check to his order, on the Bank of Commerce of Boston, having no immediate use for it, several weeks after payment on it was due. Upon proper presentation of the check, a functionary of the bank, then standing at the receipt of custom, behind the bank's counter, objected to cashing it, saying, in substance (we forget the exact words), "How do we know that this check, which has been held back for so long a time, and is indorsed with the name simply, has not been circulating as currency?" It is possible that the bank functionary, knowing his man, made a speech on this occasion the like of which he never made on any other. When several debts are paid "with the *same* check" that check circulates *as currency*. — W. B. G.

those interests certainly were much better guarded than they would have been if anybody and everybody had been allowed to issue paper currency. In these better (not perfect, but better) days of national banking, there seems to be absolute security for bill-holders ; and it is apparently impossible for *them* to lose a dollar.

Money is more than a "mere instrument :" it is *property*, and very valuable property too, because with it you can buy any and all other kinds of property. To expect the loan of the most valuable property in the world (most valuable because it can be exchanged for any other kind), at a mere nominal rate, is to expect something that will never come to pass. . . . The fact that a bank-bill costs very little (for paper, printing, &c.) is no reason for expecting to get the use of it for almost nothing. The bank-bill is a note payable in specie, and it represents a specie dollar. Even in these times, you can get eighty-nine or ninety specie dollars for one hundred one-dollar bank-bills. Representing specie, then, it represents *actual value* ; and to suppose that anybody will lend actual value in the shape of money at a less rate than he will lend actual value in the shape of real or personal estate is perfect folly. Notes or bills have to be paid when due ; and nobody is going to lend his notes or bills without such interest as the market affords. Sometimes the rate will be high, sometimes low. In England, three and a half to five per cent will be the ruling rate ; while in Chicago ten and twelve per cent will be offered. So long as money can be made by *loaning money*, so long will people invest money

in the banking business. — *Cambridge (Mass.) Press.*

**GENERAL STATUTES OF MASSACHUSETTS, CHAPTER**  
**SECT. 18.** — Whoever issues or passes any note, bill, or check, other than foreign bills of exchange, the notes or bills of some bank incorporated by the laws of this State, or by those of the United States, or of some one of the United States, the laws of either of the British Provinces in North America, with the intent that the same shall circulate as currency, shall forfeit fifty dollars for each offence.

**SECT. 19.** — Whoever issues or passes any note, bill, or check, other than the notes or bills of a bank incorporated under the authority of this State, or some (other) one of the United States, for a sum less than five dollars, or whereon less than five dollars is due at the time of such issuing or passing thereof, with the intent that the same shall be circulated as currency, shall forfeit fifty dollars for each offence.

**SECT. 20.** — Whoever receives, or puts in circulation as currency, a bank note or bill which is, or a part of which is, for a fractional part of a dollar, shall be punished by fine of not more than five dollars.

[From "Mutual Banking."]

### MONEY, USURY, AND BANKING.

GOLD and silver are peculiarly adapted to serve as a circulating medium. They are (1) admitted by common consent to serve for that purpose ; (2) they contain within themselves actual intrinsic value, equivalent to the sum for which they circulate, as security against the withdrawal of this consent, or of the public estimation ; (3) they lose less by wear and tear, and by the effect of time, than almost any other commodities ; and (4) they are divisible into all and any of the fractional parts into which value may be or necessarily is divided. There is no occasion to notice particularly, in this place, the many other advantages possessed by the precious metals.

But we must remember, when we exchange any thing for specie, that we barter one commodity for another. Specie is a valuable commodity ; and its adoption by society as a medium of exchange does not destroy its character as a purchasable and salable article.

Let Peter own a horse ; let James own a cow and a pig ; let *James's* cow and pig, taken together, be *worth precisely as much as Peter's horse* ; let Peter

and James desire to make an exchange : now, what shall prevent them from making the exchange by direct barter? Again : let Peter own the horse, let James own the cow, and let John own the pig. Peter cannot exchange his horse for the cow, because he would lose by the transaction ; neither, and for the same reason, can he exchange it for the pig. The division of the horse would result in the destruction of its value. The hide, it is true, possesses an intrinsic value ; and a dead horse makes excellent manure for a grape-vine: nevertheless, the division of a horse results in the destruction of its value as a living animal. But, if Peter barters his horse with Paul for an equivalent in wheat, what shall prevent him from so dividing his wheat as to qualify himself to offer to James an equivalent for his cow, and to John an equivalent for his pig ? If Peter trades thus with James and John, the transaction is still barter, though the wheat serves as currency, and obviates the difficulty in making change. Now, if Paul has gold and silver to dispose of, instead of wheat, the gold and silver are still commodities possessing intrinsic value ; and every exchange which Paul or Peter makes of these for other commodities is always a transaction in barter. When we sell any thing for specie, we *buy* the specie ; and, when we *buy* any thing with specie, we *sell* the specie.

. . . . .

The governments of the different nations have *made* gold and silver a **LEGAL TENDER** in the payment of debts. Does this legislation change the nature of

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the transactions where gold and silver are exchanged for other desirable commodities? Not at all. Does it transform the exchange into something other than barter? By no means. But the exchangeable value of any article depends upon its utility, and the difficulty of obtaining it. Now, the legislatures, by making the precious metals a legal tender, enhanced their utility in a remarkable manner. As soon as gold and silver are adopted as the legal tender, they are invested with an altogether new utility. By means of this new utility, whoever monopolizes the gold and silver of any country (and the currency, as we shall soon discover, is more easily monopolized than any other commodity) obtains control, thenceforth, over so much of the business of that country as is done on time; for no man can pay his debts without the permission of the party who monopolizes the article of legal tender. Thus, since the courts recognize nothing as money in the payment of debts, except the article of legal tender, this party is enabled to levy a tax on all transactions, except such as take place without the intervention of credit.\*

\* On the north-west coast, beaver-skins, which are merchandise, serve frequently as currency; but we never heard of their being a legal tender. On the other hand, United-States treasury-notes are a legal tender; but we never heard of their being merchandise. Specie is, in fact, merchandise; by custom, currency; and, by constitutional recognition as such, legal tender. United-States treasury-notes are currency by their nature, and, by law, legal tender; but they are not merchandise. The business that is done in treasury-notes, in their distinctive character as a legal tender, is not a regular and legitimate trade of merchandise for merchandise, but a levying of usury. The chartered banking corporations have such a monopoly of the non-legal-tender portion of the nominal currency (bank-notes), and play so important part in the liquidation of bills-of-exchange, drafts, and the like (which are also, in reality, a part of the non-legal-tender currency), that they have an effectual

When a man is obliged to barter his commodity for money in order to have money to barter for such other commodities as he may desire, he at once becomes subject to the impositions which moneyed men know how to practise on one who wants, and must have, money for the commodity he offers for sale. When a man is called upon suddenly to raise money to pay a debt, the case is still harder. Men whose property far exceeds the amount of their debts in value, men who have much more owing to them than they owe to others, are daily distressed for the want of money; for the want of that intervening medium which they require for use, not because of its intrinsic qualities as material and merchandise, but only as a mere instrument of exchange.

By adopting the precious metals as the legal tender in the payment of debts, society confers a new value upon them, which new value is not inherent in the metals themselves. This new value becomes a marketable commodity. Thus gold and silver become a marketable commodity as (*quoad*) *a medium of exchange*. This ought not so to be. This new value has no natural measure, because it is not a natural, but a social value, flowing, not from the aboriginal fitness of things, but from legislation, or from arbitrary custom, equivalent to legislation. This new social value is inestimable: it is incommensurable with any other known value whatever. Thus money, instead of

control, in conjunction with the great capitalists, over the whole circulating medium of the country; and they force almost the whole of the ordinary *business-paper* of the business-men to pay toll over their counters. The mystery of *discounting* becomes plain enough when it is once fairly looked at.

retaining its proper relative position, becomes a superior species of commodity, superior not in degree, but in kind. Thus money becomes the absolute king, and the demigod of commodities. Legal-tender money is merchandise, just like any other merchandise, precisely as the TRUMP is a card, just like any other card. Hence follow great social and political evils. The medium of exchange was not originally established for the purpose of creating a new, inestimable, transcendental, marketable commodity, but for the single end or purpose of facilitating exchanges. Society established gold and silver, because of their marketable value, as an instrument to mediate between marketable commodities, and then made them a legal tender, thus endowing them with a new market-value differing in kind from the former. But what new instrument shall it create to mediate between the old marketable commodities, and the new transcendental commodity which it has itself called into being? And, if it succeed in creating such new instrument, what mediator can it find for this new instrument itself, &c.? Here the gulf yawns.

Society established gold and silver as a circulating medium and as a legal tender in order that exchanges of commodities might be *facilitated*: but society blundered in so doing; for, by this very act, it gave to a certain class of men the power of saying what exchanges shall, and what exchanges shall not, be *facilitated* by means of this very circulating medium. The monopolizers of the precious metals have an undue power over the community: they can say whether money shall, or shall not, be permitted to

exercise its legitimate functions.\* These men have a *veto* on the action of money, and, therefore, on exchanges of commodity; and they will not take off their *veto* until they have received usury, or, as it is more politely termed, interest on their money. Here is the great objection to the present currency. Behold the manner in which the absurdity inherent in a legal-tender currency, or, what is still worse, in a currency of paper falsely pretending to be convertible at will into the article of legal tender (whatever that article may be), manifests itself in actual operation! The mediating value which society hoped would facilitate exchanges becomes an absolute marketable commodity, itself transcending all reach of mediation. The great natural difficulty which originally stood in the way of exchanges is now the private property of a class; and this class cultivate this difficulty, and make money out of it, even as a farmer cultivates his farm, and makes money by his labor. But there is a difference between the farmer and the usurer [and extortioner]; for the farmer benefits the community as well as himself, while every dollar made by the usurer [and extortioner] is a dollar taken from the pocket of some other individual, since the usurer [and extortioner] cultivate nothing but an actual obstruction. *Lawful money, by the nature of the case, SINCE IT IS THE ONLY LEGAL TENDER, is ALWAYS monopolized in the hands of the men that hold it.* This fact is the foundation of

\* We wonder whether any of our readers have heard, recently, of such things as "corners in gold," or "the locking-up of greenbacks by the banks." The compiler, writing more than twenty-five years ago, and boring with an *auger into the unknown*, to let daylight into this business, made as clean a hole as could have been expected under the circumstances.

the right of society to limit the rate of interest. The monopoly is incidentally created by legislation ; and it is the duty of the State to guard against abuses of arbitrary privileges which itself creates.

BANK-BILLS are doubly guaranteed. On one side, there is the capital of the bank, which is liable for the redemption of the bills in circulation : on the other side are the notes of the debtors of the bank, which notes are (or ought to be, if the bank-officers exercise due caution and discretion) a sufficient guaranty for all the bills ; for no bills are issued by any bank, except upon notes whereby some responsible person is bound to restore to the bank, after a certain lapse of time, money to the amount borne on the face of the bills. If the notes given by the receivers of the bills are good, then the bills themselves are also good. If we reflect a moment upon these facts, we shall see that a bank of deposit, discount, and circulation is, in reality, two banks in one. There is one bank which does business on the specie capital really paid in :\* there is another, and a very different bank, which does business by issuing bills in exchange for notes whereby the receivers of the bills give security that there shall be paid back, by a certain time, money to the amount of the bills issued. Let us now investigate the nature of these two different banks.

Peter goes into the banking business with one dollar

\* This article was originally published twenty-five years ago, when the banks pretended to be based on specie capitals. The writer had, at the time, no prophetic foreboding of the rise of national banks based on the indebtedness of the *Federal Government*.

capital, and immediately issues bills to the amount of one dollar and twenty-five cents. Let us say that he issues five bills, each of which is to circulate for the amount of twenty-five cents. James comes to the bank with four of Peter's bills, and says, "Here are four of your new twenty-five-cent notes, which purport to be payable on demand ; and I will thank you to give me a silver dollar for them." Peter redeems the bills, and, in so doing, pays out his whole capital. Afterward comes John, with the fifth note, and makes a demand similar to that lately made by James. Peter answers, slowly and hesitatingly, "I regret — exceedingly — the force of present circumstances ; but — I — just paid — out my whole capital — to James. I am — under — the painful necessity — of requesting you — to wait a little longer for your money." John at once becomes indignant, and says, "Your bills state on their face, that you will pay twenty-five cents upon each one of them whenever they are presented. I present one *now*. Give me the money, therefore, without more words ; for my business is urgent this morning." Peter answers, "I shall be in a condition to redeem my bills by the day after to-morrow ; but, for the mean while, my regard for the interest of the public forces me unwillingly to suspend specie payments." — "Suspend *specie* payments!" says John. "What other kind of payment, under Heaven, could you suspend ? You agree to pay *specie* ; for specie is the only legal tender ; and, when you don't pay that, you don't pay any thing. When you don't pay that, *you break*. Why don't you own up at once ? But, while I am about it, I will give you a piece of my

mind : this extra note, which you have issued beyond your capital, is a vain phantom, a hollow humbug, and a fraud. And, as for your bank, you had better take in your sign ; for you have broken." — "These be very bitter words," as said the hostess of the Boar's Head Tavern at Eastcheap.

John is right. Peter's capital is all gone ; and the note for twenty-five cents, which professes to represent specie in Peter's vaults, represents the tangibility of an empty vision, the shadow of a vacuum. But which bank is it that is broken ? Is it the bank that does business on a specie capital, or the bank which does business on the notes of the debtors to the bank ? Evidently it is the bank that does business on the specie capital that is broken : it is the specie-paying bank that has ceased to exist.

John understands this very well, notwithstanding his violent language a moment since ; he knows that his is the only bill which Peter has in circulation, and that Peter owes, consequently, only twenty-five cents ; he knows, also, that the bank has owing to it one dollar and twenty-five cents. Peter owes twenty-five cents, and has owing to him a dollar and twenty-five cents. John feels, therefore, perfectly safe. What is John's security ? Is it the specie capital ? Not at all : James has taken the whole of that. He has for his security the debts which are owing to the bank. Peter's bank begins now to be placed in a sound philosophical condition. At first, he promised to pay one dollar and twenty-five cents in specie ; while he actually possessed only one dollar with which to meet the demands *that might be made upon him*. How

could he have made a more unreasonable promise, even if he had tried? Now that he has suspended specie payments, he has escaped from the unphilosophical situation in which he so rashly placed himself. Peter's bank is still in operation,—it is by no means broken; his bills are good, guaranteed, and worthy of considerable confidence: only his bank is now a simple and not a complex bank, being no longer two banks in one; for the specie-paying element has vanished in infinite darkness.

And here we may notice, that Peter has solved, after a rough manner indeed, one of the most difficult questions in political economy. His bill for twenty-five cents is *currency*, and is *measured* by specie, although it is not directly connected in any way with specie. We would request the reader to be patient with us, and not make up his mind in regard to our statements, until he has read to the end of the chapter: it shall not be very long. Light breaks on us here, which we would endeavor to impart to the reader. The security for the bill is legal value, the security in actual value having been carried away by James; that is, the security for the bill is the legal claim which the bank has upon the property of its debtors. We see, therefore, that *legal value* may be made a basis for the issue of notes to serve as currency: \* we see, therefore, the faint indication of a

\* To-day (March 6, 1875) the notes of the national banks are based altogether, so far as they have a nominal *capital*, on legal value, and not at all on specie. The compiler of this pamphlet never foresaw that his theory would be exemplified in so objectionable a form as the one which now obtains, and that he should live to see banks based on no *actual capital* at all, but solely on *capitals consisting of certificates of debt for actual values that have been used*

means whereby we may perhaps emancipate ourselves from the bondage of hard money, and the worse bondage of paper, which pretends to be a representative of hard money.

Let the reader not be alarmed. We abominate banks that suspend specie payment, as much as he does. The run of our argument leads us through this desolate valley ; but we shall soon emerge into the clear day. Good may come out of this dark region, although we never expected to find it here. For our part, however, we will freely confess, in private, to the reader, that we have lately been so accustomed to see good come out of Nazareth, that we have acquired the habit of never expecting it from any other quarter. Let us spend a moment, therefore, in exploring this banking Nazareth.

We may notice, in considering a bank that has suspended specie payments, 1. The *bank-officers*, who are servants of the *stockholders*; 2. The *bills* which are issued by the bank-officers, and which circulate in the community as money ; and, 3. The *notes* of the debtors of the bank, binding these debtors : which notes, deposited in the safe, are security for the bills issued. Let us now take, for illustration, a non-specie-paying bank that shall be " perfect after its kind ;" that is, a

up in war, and no longer exist. The real capital of the national banks is *the promise* of the government to exact from the people, BY TAXATION, sooner or later, an amount of money sufficient to pay the bonds, with interest. It will not be denied, however, that the national banks do actual business, and furnish a notable part of the currency, exchanging their non-interest-bearing bills for the interest-bearing obligations of their customers. These bills are redeemable in United-States treasury-notes, which do not themselves pretend to be *redeemable otherwise than as being receivable in payment of certain classes of taxes.*

bank whose capital shall be, in *actual* value, literally = 0. Suppose there are 100 stockholders; suppose \$100,000 worth of bills to be in circulation, and that \$100,000 *legal* value is secured to the bank by notes given by the bank's debtors. These stockholders will be remarkable individuals, doing business after a very singular fashion. For example: the stockholders own stock in this bank; but, as the whole joint-stock equals zero, each stockholder evidently owns only the one-hundredth part of nothing,—a species of property that counts much or little, according to the skilfulness with which it is administered. The stockholders, through the agency of the bank-officers, issue their paper, *bearing no interest*; exchanging it for other paper, furnished by those who receive the bills, *bearing interest at the rate of six per cent per annum*. The paper received by the bank binds the debtor to the bank to pay interest; while the paper issued by the bank puts it under no obligation to pay any interest at all. Thus the stockholders, doing business with no capital whatever, make six per cent per annum on a pretended \$100,000 of *actual* value which does not exist. *Yet, meanwhile, these stockholders furnish the community with an available currency: this fact ought always to be borne in mind.* Non-specie-paying banks, of course, make dividends. During the suspension of 1837 and 1838, all the banks of Pennsylvania made dividends, although it was prohibited in the charters of most of them. After the suspension which took place in Philadelphia in October, 1839, most of the banks of that city resolved not to declare dividends until the pleasure of the legislature

could be known. By an act authorizing the continuance of the suspension until the 15th of January, 1841, permission was granted to make dividends, contrary to every principle of justice and equity. We do not know why we speak especially of the Pennsylvania banks in this connection, as we have yet to hear of the first bank, either in Pennsylvania, or in any other State, that has had the delicacy to suspend the declaration of dividends, merely because it suspended specie payments.

Our non-specie-paying bank being in the interesting position described, let us inquire whether it is not in the process of bringing forth something which shall be entirely different from itself. We ask, first, why a non-specie-paying bank should be permitted to make dividends. Its bills are perfectly good, whether the bank have any capital or not, provided the officers exercise due discretion in discounting notes; and it is evident that the stockholders have no right to ask to be paid for the use of their capital, since the capital in question ought to be specie, which they confess, by suspending specie payments, that they do not furnish. But, if no dividends are to be declared, what are we to do with the immense amount of interest-money that will accumulate in the bank? Our answer to this question is so simple, that we are almost ashamed to state it. Justice requires that all the interest-money accumulated — so much only excepted as is required to pay the expenses of the institution, and the average of loss by bad debts — should be paid back to the borrowers in the proportion of the business which they have individually done with the bank.

But, since it would be by no means easy, practically, to thus pay the extra interest-money back, it would be better for the bank to turn the difficulty by lending its money at precisely that rate of interest, and no more, say one per cent per annum, which would suffice to pay the expenses of the institution, including the average loss by bad debts. A bank of this character would be a Mutual Bank.

Our plan for a Mutual Bank is embodied in the following petition:—

*To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.*

This prayer of your petitioners humbly showeth, that the farmers, mechanics, and other actual producers, whose names are hereunto subscribed, believe the present organization of the currency to be unjust and oppressive. They, therefore, respectfully request your honorable body to republicanize gold, silver, and bank-bills, by the enactment of a **GENERAL MUTUAL BANKING LAW.**

A law embracing the following provisions would be eminently satisfactory to your petitioners:—

1. The inhabitants, or any portion of the inhabitants, of any town or city in the Commonwealth, may organize themselves into a Mutual Banking Company.

2. Any person may become a member of the Mutual Banking Company of any particular town, by pledging **REAL ESTATE** situated in that town, or in its immediate neighborhood, to the Mutual Bank of that town.

3. The Mutual Bank of any town may issue *paper money* to circulate as currency among persons willing to employ it as such.

4. Every member of a Mutual Banking Company shall bind himself, and be bound, in due legal form, on admission, to receive in payment of debts, at par, and from all persons, the bills issued, and to be issued, by the particular Mutual Bank to which he may belong.

5. Any member may borrow the paper money of the bank to which he belongs, on his own note running to maturity (without indorsement), to an amount not to exceed one-half of the value of the property pledged by him.

6. The rate of interest at which said money shall be loaned by the bank shall be determined by, and shall, if possible, just meet and cover, the bare expenses of the institution.

7. No money shall be loaned by the bank to persons who do not become members of the company by pledging real estate to the bank.

8. Any member, by paying his debts to the Mutual Bank to which he belongs, may have his property released from pledge, and be himself released from all obligations to said Mutual Bank, and to holders of the Mutual Bank money, as such.

9. No Mutual Bank shall receive other than Mutual Bank paper money in payment of debts due to it, except at a discount of one-half of one per cent.

10. The Mutual Banks of the several counties in the Commonwealth shall be authorized to enter into *such arrangements* with each other as shall enable

them to receive each other's bills in payments of debts; so that, for example, a Fitchburg man may pay his debts to the Barre Bank in Oxford money, or in such other Worcester-county money as may suit his convenience.—**MUTUAL BANKING**, by W. B. G., *Brookfield, Mass.*, 1850.

When we presented ourselves before the Committee on Banks and Banking, of the Massachusetts legislature, session of 1850—51, to defend the above petition, our proposition (*to issue bills redeemable at sight, not by having specie paid down on their face, but by being receivable at their face value, in discharge of claims, by each and all of the members of the particular mutual banking companies issuing them*) was treated as preposterous, and as hardly deserving to be taken into serious consideration. It was said that such bills, *because not ultimately convertible into specie, would never circulate.* Time brings many changes, and, among them, changes in men's opinions. We have lived to see the United States destitute of all currency other than one composed, on the one hand, of inconvertible treasury-notes, redeemable, by having specie paid down on their face, at no time and nowhere, but redeemable always and everywhere, by being receivable in discharge of claims of the United States, the parties issuing them, for certain classes of taxes; and composed, on the other hand, of national bank-notes, convertible, on presentation, into inconvertible treasury-notes. Such is life. It is our conviction, if the national banking laws, and the laws requiring payment of custom's dues in gold, should be repealed, that the greenbacks, even if they should

be stripped, as they ought to be, of their unconstitutional legal-tender characteristic, would float at par with gold, to an amount superior to the total amount of all the paper money — greenbacks and bank-notes — now floating below par with gold in the United States.

#### MR. PHILLIPS ON THE CURRENCY.

“The Boston Post” of this morning (March 4, 1875) gives information — under the heading : “*The Rate of Interest : A New Financial Policy proposed by Wendell Phillips: Proposition to issue \$1,200,000,000 in Greenbacks, and to reduce the Rate of Interest Four per Cent*” — that,

“A public meeting was held at Wesleyan Hall, yesterday afternoon” [March 3, we presume] “under the auspices of the Finance Department of the American Social Science Association, for the purpose of listening to and discussing a paper read by Wendell Phillips on the rate of interest. There was a good attendance of business-men, and gentlemen familiar with financial topics; and the proceedings were of much public interest.”

Mr. Phillips submitted his propositions in the words following :—

“1st, Take from national banks all right to issue bills, and oblige them to return what bills they have within a reasonable time. To this add, Receive the present greenbacks, at first, for one-half of all debts due the government, and, in time, for all debts so due. This course would put greenbacks on a par with gold *very soon*. It would secure the government enough gold to meet its obligations until that happened. If, in the interval

there should be any slight deficiency, we could afford to buy gold. The gain from other parts of the plan would abundantly cover such expense. I know the nation's pledge to its creditors touching this revenue to be claimed in gold. We must arrange with them to have this contract altered. The gain to us is worth the effort and cost.

"2d, Allow any person to do what banks are now allowed to do; that is, deposit national bonds, and receive from the nation greenbacks in exchange, with this difference, however, that such depositor shall receive the full amount of the bond, and pay for the use of such greenbacks three or four per cent per annum, whichever rate is thought best. Why should not an individual be allowed to borrow greenbacks on a bond, as well as banks be allowed to do so? Why should either of them be allowed this privilege without paying for it? Even Mr. Secretary Chase, in his Report of 1861, doubted the rightfulness of this enormous 'loan to banks without interest.' By it the people lose from fifteen to twenty-five millions annually.

"3d, Perhaps not at first, but as soon as it seemed best, allow landholders the same privileges as bondholders. Let them borrow one-half of the value of their improved land in greenbacks at the same rate of interest; the value set on the land to be the average of what it has been appraised for taxes during the last ten years, the interest to be discounted at the time of the loan.

"4th, These new greenbacks should read, simply, 'The United States of America—One Dollar'; or, 'The United States of America promise to pay — dollars in bonds,' " &c.

We will examine this programme, or platform, plank by plank.

The first plank calls for no special observations.

The second plank is more open to criticism. Paper money issued on the plan here advocated, which is *Gen. Butler's* plan, would be based on no real and *tangible* actual property cognizable by the natural

senses ; on nothing that could be seized, and sold under the hammer. We may observe, first, if the public debt should be actually paid, that there would no longer be any interconvertibility of bonds and greenbacks, since there would then be no bonds to convert. Thus the country, if it should commit itself exclusively to Gen. Butler's plan, would by simply paying its debts, incidentally annihilate its own currency. Furthermore, if the country should grow restive under taxation, or if Congress should spend too much time and nervous fluid in debating the appropriation bills, the paper money would depreciate, and might eventually become worthless. Again : the basis on which Gen. Butler would ground his issues is not actual property that could be sold under the hammer, to make good the claims of the bill-holders, in the case that the country should become insolvent; but is property that once actually existed, but now exists no longer, because it was destroyed in the war. Powder that has been transmuted into cannon-smoke, overcoats that have been worn out in service, labor and fuel expended years ago in transporting troops on railroads and steam-boats, are not a proper basis for the issue of paper money. Such money would represent debt, and not credit. It would be the old Continental money under a disguised form, and would be based, not on actual values, but on the promise of the government to tax the people, and on the presumed willingness of the people to submit to continued taxation. Gen. Butler's plan might, if adopted, lead to disastrous results.

The third plank differs from the others. This is the *first time that Mr. Phillips has ever, to our knowledge,*

in this connection, uttered the monosyllable **LAND**. Land may be specialized and described by its location and boundaries. It is cognizable by the natural senses. It may be seized by process of law; and the title to it may be lawfully transferred, in execution, under the sheriff's hammer: a mortgage of land is, therefore, or may be, an acceptable guaranty for the payment of an obligation. Mr. Phillips's plan for a bank based on land — the bank to be set in operation by the Federal Government, and to remain under the direction and supervision of the Federal Government — is identical with a plan put forth by the compiler of this pamphlet, more than twenty years ago, in a printed paper.

The prophetic utterances of the compiler of this pamphlet have seldom met with any general acceptance; and that is, perhaps, a good reason why he should undertake, on this occasion, to prophesy again. We prophesy, therefore, first, that, by some process analogous to the one proposed by Gen. Butler, the debts of the United States will be definitively liquidated, and in a way not altogether satisfactory to the bondholders. We prophesy, also, that, by a process analogous to the one proposed by Mr. Phillips, all the lands of the United States will be ultimately **SOCIALIZED** in the hands of the State governments, or, if not in their hands, then in those of the Federal Government. We prophesy, furthermore, that few persons will give any weight to our prophetic utterances, until the things foretold by us come suddenly and unexpectedly to pass. We have waited twenty-five years to find a man of the stamp of Wendell Phillips, *who would consent to authentically utter the word*

**LAND :** the prophecies which we now put in print can well afford to wait twenty-five years longer for their fulfilment.

In respect to Mr. Phillips's fourth plank, we would merely say, that, in our opinion, the wording of his new bills would correspond more nearly to their meaning, if they should read thus, —

*"Good to the bearer for — Dollars in settlement of customs dues, or of any other taxes, of any nature whatsoever, leviable by the United States."*

Mr. Phillips's address to the meeting in Wesleyan Hall was followed by a discussion ; and we give below, in the words of "The Post's" reporter, the luminous details of the debate. It is to be hoped that the reader, in the light of the remarkable expositions made by Messrs, Bradford, Atkinson, and Phillips, will be able to render to himself an intelligible account of the entire existing financial situation.

" After Mr. Phillips had finished his address, the subject was taken up for general discussion. Mr. Gamaliel Bradford spoke first, and said he did not think there was any one present, who had made such subjects a matter of study, who had not been able to follow the perfectly easy fallacy underlying Mr. Phillips's discourse, — that, because things are said to be impossible, therefore they will be done. He was not surprised that Mr. Phillips found on his side a great many men who had made their wealth by paper money. They had great reason to agree with him. But the great question for them to consider was whether the currency was good for the benefit of the masses of the people, rather than for individuals. The argument which Mr. Phillips drew from the writings of Bonamy Price, that no more bank-notes would circulate than were wanted, Mr. Bradford said was not applicable to the case. When currency be-

came inconvertible into gold and silver, immediately all prices changed, and it took so much more money to measure the whole business of the nation. Mr. Bradford also denied that the Bank of England had three times been obliged to suspend specie payment. They had come near failing ; but never had they come within a thousand miles of suspension. And, with regard to the currency of France, it was not a quarter or a third of ours.

"Mr. Edward Atkinson said the fallacy and fault of Mr. Phillips's argument was, that he did not appear to understand the very fundamental idea of money. His whole allegation was based upon the supposition that interest was paid for money. No man was fool enough to pay interest for money : it was a mere tool by which a person borrowed something measured by a certain amount of money. The use of money was to spend ; and it had no other use. Then, if money was really a tool, it was like a spade, which must be of good steel to do good work ; or a scale, which must have honest weight ; or a yardstick, which should be straight and true, and of material which will not shrink or stretch. Otherwise some one would be cheated. People could not take into consideration the fluctuations of money ; and, in reimbursing themselves for the fluctuations, the consumers of the goods (nine out of ten of whom work for wages) are wronged. It was a tremendous responsibility for a man who is followed as Mr. Phillips is followed, because he has led in other things, to take upon himself, against the experience of ages, against the dictum of every man of any note whatever (that ever made a study of this subject), to still advocate the use of a false, fluctuating, irredeemable, inconvertible currency that is not money, but only a promise of money, unless he sifted it to the very bottom in order not to mislead. Mr. Phillips had also made some errors of fact, one of which was with regard to the rate of interest. Mr. Atkinson said he or any other person, or corporation, or municipality, could obtain credit for a promise to pay in gold at a rate of six per cent, or less ; and the rate paid for the money used in New-England business had for many years been not above seven per cent in gold.

*"By MR. PHILLIPS.—Do you doubt Bowen?*

"MR. ATKINSON.—I do not know what he says.

"MR. PHILLIPS.—He says the average interest is ten per cent.

"MR. ATKINSON.—That is not the fact.

"MR. PHILLIPS.—Will you allow me to suggest that his authority is as good as yours?

"MR. ATKINSON.—No, sir. Mr. Bowen has no experience, and speaks of what he hears. I know the facts as they are before me.

"MR. PHILLIPS.—We were told by Mr. Atkinson that the theory I advocate held a changeable yardstick with regard to prices. Does Mr. Atkinson mean to deny, that, when the directors of the Bank of England raise and lower *the rate of interest*, they change the value of every yard of cotton, and every Sheffield razor?

"MR. ATKINSON.—I mean to say just this, sir, that the Bank of England has just as much power over *the rate of interest*—

"MR. PHILLIPS.—If you have a brain, sir, listen to me. I said the Bank of England changed the price of every razor in Sheffield, whenever it raises *the rate of interest*.

"MR. ATKINSON.—I affirm this: the Bank of England does not raise *the rate of interest*, does not lower it: it follows.

"MR. PHILLIPS.—You evade the question.

"MR. ATKINSON.—I do not evade it. You have based your theory upon the assumption that the Bank of England can change *the rate of interest*. I deny the assumption.

"MR. PHILLIPS.—I did not base it upon that. You cannot answer the question. You evade it.

"MR. ATKINSON.—Will you repeat the question?

"MR. PHILLIPS.—The best writer on this subject is the editor of the 'English Economist.' That writer says, in his last work, that, when they wish to prevent a drain, they raise the rate of DISCOUNT, and the price of every thing in the country is affected. Now talk to me about a fixed yardstick after that!

"MR. ATKINSON.—The prices that you speak of, that rise and fall, are the controlling element that helps the bankers when they see speculative action rising, and that they are subject to having their money carried away from them, to say, we will

charge you six per cent rather than four in order to keep our money.

"MR. PHILLIPS.—What is the effect?

"MR. ATKINSON.—The effect is to keep prices stable, so far as it has any effect at all, to check speculative action, and make it easier for the people to live.

"MR. PHILLIPS.—Just what I said.

"The subject was continued in a general way by Messrs. William Endicott, Richard Hollowell, Carroll, and others; and, at about six o'clock, the meeting adjourned."

The Italics and small capitals are ours; but the words are those of the speakers ("Boston business men, and gentlemen familiar with financial topics"), as reported by "The Boston Post."

## THE THEORIES OF BECK AND PROUDHON.

[If the reader has a constitutional repugnance to detailed philosophic reasoning on financial subjects, we counsel him to omit reading this article, which is inserted for the special benefit of persons familiar with the mere practical routine of the banking trade, and whose minds are perplexed by complications growing out of the existing abnormal system of discounting.]

There are many practical processes by which the business-world make credit perform the functions of money, among which may be especially noticed, 1st, That by credit in account; and, 2d, That by bills of exchange. Mr. Beck thought out a Mutual Bank by generalizing credit in account; Proudhon, by generalizing the bill of exchange.

WILLIAM BECK says,—

“A mode of making credit answer the purposes of money, *by which, when carried far enough, money may be very completely superseded*, consists in making payments by checks. The custom of keeping the spare cash, reserved for immediate use or against contingent demands, in the hands of a banker, and making all payments, except small ones, by orders on bankers, is in this country spreading to a continually larger portion of the public. If the person making

the payment, and the person receiving it, kept their money with the same banker, the payment would take place, *without any intervention of money*, by the mere transfer of its amount in the banker's books from the credit of the payer to that of the receiver. *If all persons in London kept their cash at the same banker's, and made all their payments by means of checks, no money would be required or used for any transactions beginning and terminating in London.* This ideal limit is almost attained in fact, so far as regards transactions between dealers. It is chiefly in the retail transactions between dealers and consumers, and in the payment of wages, that money or bank-notes now pass, and then only when the amounts are small. In London, even shopkeepers of any amount of capital, or extent of business, have generally an account with a banker ; which, beside the safety and convenience of the practice, is to their advantage in another respect, by giving them an understood claim to have their bills discounted in cases where they could not otherwise expect it. As for the merchants and larger dealers, they habitually make all payments, in the course of their business, by checks. They do not, however, all deal with the same banker ; and, when A gives a check to B, B usually pays it, not into the same, but into another bank. But the convenience of business has given birth to an arrangement which makes all the banking-houses of the city of London, for certain purposes, virtually one establishment. A banker does not send the checks which are paid into his banking-house to the banks on which they are drawn, and demand money for them. There is a building called THE CLEARING-HOUSE, to which every city banker sends, each afternoon, all the checks on other bankers which he has received during the day ; and they are there exchanged for the checks on him which have come into the hands of other bankers, the balances only being paid in money. By this contrivance, all the business transactions of the city of London during that day, amounting often to millions of pounds, and a vast amount besides, of country transactions, represented by bills which country bankers have drawn upon their London correspondents, are liquidated by payments not exceeding, on the average, two hundred thousand pounds.

"Money follows in the track of claim. Its progress is the discharge and satisfaction of claim. The payment of money is effectually the discharge of the debtor; but it is not equally effectual in satisfaction of the creditor. Though it releases the debtor, it still leaves the creditor to seek the real object of his desire. It does not put him in possession of it, but of something which enables him to obtain it. He must exchange this money by purchase for the article he wants before that object is attained. In payment of debts, it passes from claimant to claimant, discharging and paying claims as it goes. Money follows claim; both continually revolving through all classes of society in repeated and perpetual circles, constantly returning to their several stations, drawn thither by operations of industry or of business.

"In the possession of money, every one has his turn. It comes to him in the shape of payment for his sales or his industry, and passes from him in the shape of payment or of expenditure, again to return at its proper time, and on a proper occasion, to serve the same purposes as before.

*"Now, I contend, that, as the progress of money lies in a circular route, a certain system of account may be made to supply its place, where its track and extent can, in that circle, be included and distinguished.*

"By a circle, I mean that range of society which includes the whole circulating movement of money, with the accompanying causes and effects of its progress; namely, claims, debts, and payments; so that, if we wish to trace its path, every point of that path will be contained within it. SUCH IS THE GREAT CIRCLE OF SOCIETY. *This contains the whole body of debtors and the whole body of creditors.* It contains all the debtors to the creditors, and all the creditors to the debtors. All would be included in the jurisdiction of a power that by any possibility could preside over the whole. Creditors are sellers; debtors are buyers. But no man continually sells without sometimes buying, nor does any man continually buy without sometimes selling. The creditor who receives money from his debtor, again expends this money upon others, who thereby, in their turns, become creditors, and receive their money back again

All these movements are within the range of the one circle of society. Now, it is evident, that, if an account were kept by a presiding power, the goods which any person receives, being of equal value, would pay for those which he had previously delivered, would replace him in his original assets, and cancel the obligation to him without the aid of money. Hence, after the whole process, it would seem that the intermediate passage and return of money were superfluous. If the dealings are not directly backward and forward,—that is, between one creditor and his debtor, and back again from the same debtor to the same creditor,—the effect will be the same ; for, as this *whole* circle includes every creditor, every debtor, and in fact every individual in that society, so it contains every account to which the claims of any creditor would apply, and every account to which the same creditor would be indebted. The agency of the presiding power would render it, *pro forma*, the representative to every creditor of his individual debtor ; and to every debtor, the representative of his individual creditor. It would form a common centre for all claims by every creditor on his debtor. It would form the channel for the discharge of his debts, and the receipt of his claims. It would show the state of his account with society ; and the balance, if in favor, would be available as so much cash.

"This is what is meant by *a circle*. Such is the great circle of society, the only one which is complete and perfect ; and such are the advantages contained in it.

"Hence the plan I propose is adapted to this circle, to exhibit the revolving track of money within it ; to contain the several points of its progress ; and, at each of these points, to perform its duty and supply its place by the revolution of debits and credits in account, instead of the revolution of the actual material money."

The work which Mr. Beck proposes to perform by means of a bureau of credit in account, having a central office, and subordinate agencies, is now practically performed by circulating bills of exchange.

Let it be supposed, by way of illustration, that there are ten shoe-manufacturers in Lynn, who sell their shoes to ten shop-keepers in Boston; let it be supposed, also, that there are ten wholesale grocers in Boston, who furnish goods to ten retail grocers in Lynn. If the value of the shoes equals the value of the groceries, the ten retail grocers in Lynn would have no occasion to send money to Boston to pay their indebtedness to the wholesale grocers; neither would the ten shop-keepers in Boston have occasion to send money to Lynn to discharge their debt to the ten shoe-manufacturers: for the Lynn retail grocers might pay the money to the Lynn shoe-manufacturers; these shoe-manufacturers writing to the Boston shop-keepers, who are their debtors, requesting them to pay the Boston wholesale grocers, who are the creditors of the Lynn retail grocers. It is very possible that the transactions of all these persons with each other might be settled in this way without the transmission of any money either from Boston to Lynn, or from Lynn to Boston. The transfer of debts, in the process here indicated, gives rise to what are called, in mercantile language, *drafts, or bills of exchange*; though regular bills of exchange are seldom drawn in this country, except against foreign account. A bill of exchange reads generally somewhat as follows: "To Mr. E. F. —— days after sight, on this my *first* bill of exchange (second and third of the same date and tenor not paid), pay to A. B., without further advice from me, —— dollars, value received; and charge the same to account of your obedient servant, C. D." This form evidently implies that the bill is made out

in triplicates. The bill must also, of course, be dated. A *draft* is a bill of exchange drawn up with the omission of some of the solemnity and particularity of the regular bill.

Bills of exchange are useful, not only for the payment of debts at distant places without transportation of the precious metals, but also as a means by which a debt due from one person may be made available for *obtaining credit* from another. It is usual in every trade to give a certain length of credit for goods bought, — ninety days, six months, eight months, or a longer time, as may be determined by the convenience of the parties, or by the custom of the particular trade and place. If a man has sold goods to another on six months' credit, he may draw a bill upon his debtor, payable in six months, get his bill discounted at the bank, and thus qualify himself to purchase such things as he may require in his business, without waiting for the six months to expire. But bills of exchange do more than this. They not only obviate, upon occasions, the necessity for ready money; they not only enable a man to command ready money before the debts due to him arrive at maturity: they often *actually take the place, and perform the functions, of money itself*, doing the very thing that Mr. Beck offers to perform with his army of clerks in his central bureau of credit. J. Stuart Mill, quoting from Mr. Thornton, says, "Let us imagine a farmer in the country to discharge a debt of ten pounds to his neighboring grocer, by giving him a bill for that sum, drawn on his corn-factor in London, *for grain sold in the metropolis*; and the grocer to

transmit the bill — he having previously indorsed it — to a neighboring sugar-baker in discharge of a like debt ; and the sugar-baker to send it, when again indorsed, to a West India merchant in an outport ; and the West India merchant to deliver it to his country banker, who also indorses it, and sends it into further circulation. The bill will, in this case, have effected five payments, exactly as if it were a ten-pound note payable to bearer on demand. *A multitude of bills pass between trader and trader in the country in the manner which has been described ; and they evidently form, in the strictest sense, a part of the circulating medium of the kingdom.*" Mr. Mill adds, " Many bills, both domestic and foreign, are at last presented for payment quite covered with indorsements, each of which represents either a fresh discounting, or a pecuniary transaction in which the bill has performed the functions of money. *Up to twenty years ago, the circulating medium of Lancashire, for sums above five pounds, was almost entirely composed of such bills.*"

PROUDHON says, —

" We must destroy the royalty of gold ; we must republi- canize specie, by making every product of labor ready money.

" Let no one be frightened beforehand. I by no means propose to reproduce, under a rejuvenated form, the old ideas of paper money, money of paper, assignats, bank-bills, &c. ; for all these palliatives have been known, tried, and rejected long ago. These representations on paper, by which men have believed themselves able to replace the absent god, are, all of them, nothing other than a homage paid to metal, — an adoration of metal, which has been always present to men's minds, and

which has always been taken by them as the measure or evaluator of products.

"Everybody knows what a bill of exchange is. The creditor requests the debtor to pay to him or to his order, at such a house, at such a place, at such a date, such a sum of money.

"The promissory note is the bill of exchange inverted : the debtor promises the creditor that he will pay, &c.

"'The bill of exchange,' says the statute, 'is drawn from one place on another. It is dated. It announces the sum to be paid ; the time and place where the payment is to be made ; the value to be furnished in specie, in merchandise, in account, or in other form. It is to the order of a third person, or to the order of the drawer himself. If it is by 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, &c., it must be so stated.'

"The bill of exchange supposes, therefore, *exchange, provision, and acceptance* : that is to say, a value created and delivered by the drawer ; the existence, in the hands of the drawee, of the funds destined to acquit the bill ; and the promise, on the part of the drawee, to acquit it. When the bill of exchange is clothed with all these formalities ; when it represents a real service actually rendered, or merchandise delivered ; when the drawer and drawee are known and solvent ; when, in a word, it is clothed with all the conditions necessary to guarantee the accomplishment of the obligation, the bill of exchange is considered *good* : it circulates in the mercantile world like bank-paper, like specie. No one objects to receiving it, under pretext that a bill of exchange is nothing but a piece of paper. Only—since, at the end of its circulation, the bill of exchange, before being destroyed, must be exchanged for specie—it pays to specie a sort of seigniorial duty called *discount*.

"That which, in general, renders the bill of exchange insecure, is precisely this promise of final conversion into specie ; and thus, the idea of metal, like a corrupting royalty, infects even the bill of exchange, and takes from it its certainty.

"Now, the whole problem of the circulation consists in generalizing the bill of exchange ; that is to say, in making of it an anonymous title, exchangeable forever, and redeemable at sight, but only in merchandise and services.

"Or, to speak a language more comprehensible to financial adepts, the problem of the circulation consists in *basing* bank-paper, not upon specie, nor bullion, nor immovable property, which can never produce any thing but a miserable oscillation between usury and bankruptcy, between the five-franc piece and the assignat, but by basing it upon *products*.

"I conceive this generalization of the bill of exchange as follows : —

"A hundred thousand manufacturers, miners, merchants, commissioners, public carriers, agriculturists, &c., throughout France, unite with each other in obedience to the summons of the Government, and by simple authentic declaration, inserted in the 'Moniteur' newspaper, bind themselves respectively and reciprocally to adhere to the statutes of the Bank of Exchange ; which shall be no other than the Bank of France itself, with its constitution and attributes modified on the following basis : —

"1st, The Bank of France, become Bank of Exchange, is an institution of public interest. It is placed under the guardianship of the State, and is directed by delegates from all the branches of industry.

"2d, Every subscriber shall have an account open at the Bank of Exchange, for the discount of his business paper ; and he shall be served to the same extent as he would have been under the conditions of discount in specie ; that is, in the known measure of his faculties, the business he does, the positive guaranties he offers, the real credit he might reasonably have enjoyed under the old system.

"3d, The discount of ordinary commercial paper, whether of drafts, orders, bills of exchange, notes on demand, will be made in bills of the Bank of Exchange, of denominations of 25, 50, 100, and 1,000 francs.

"Specie will be used in making change only.

"4th, The rate of discount will be fixed at — per cent, commission included, no matter how long the paper has to run. With the Bank of Exchange, all business will be finished on the spot.

"5th, *EVERY SUBSCRIBER BINDS HIMSELF TO RECEIVE IN*

**ALL PAYMENTS, FROM WHOMSOEVER IT MAY BE, AND AT PAR,  
THE PAPER OF THE BANK OF EXCHANGE.**

“6th, Provisionally, and by way of transition, gold and silver coin will be received in exchange for the paper of the bank, and at their nominal value.

“Is this a paper currency?

“I answer unhesitatingly, No. It is neither paper money, nor money of paper; it is neither government checks, nor even bank-bills; it is not of the nature of any thing that has been hitherto invented to make up for the scarcity of specie. *It is the bill of exchange generalized.*

“The essence of the bill of exchange is constituted, 1st, By its being drawn from one place on another; 2d, By its representing a real value equal to the sum it expresses; 3d, By the promise or obligation, on the part of the drawee, to pay it when it falls due.

“In three words, that which constitutes the bill of exchange is *exchange, provision, acceptance.*

“As to the date of issue, or of falling due; as to the designation of the places, persons, object,—these are particular circumstances which do not relate to the essence of the title, but which serve merely to give it a determinate, personal, and local actuality.

“Now, what is the bank-paper I propose to create?

“It is the bill of exchange stripped of the circumstantial qualities of date, place, person, object, term of maturity, and reduced to its essential qualities,—*exchange, acceptance, provision.*

“It is, to explain myself still more clearly, the bill of exchange, payable at sight and forever, drawn from every place in France, upon every other place in France, made by a hundred thousand drawers, guaranteed by a hundred thousand indorsers, accepted by the hundred thousand subscribers drawn upon; having provision made for its payment in the hundred thousand workshops, manufactories, stores, &c., of the same hundred thousand subscribers.

“I say, therefore, that such a title unites every condition of *solidity and security*, and that it is susceptible of no depreciation.

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" It is eminently solid ; since, on one side, it represents the ordinary, local, personal, actual paper of exchange, determined in its object, and representing a real value, a service rendered, merchandise delivered, or whose delivery is guaranteed and certain ; while, on the other side, it is guaranteed by the contract *in solido*, of a hundred thousand exchangers, who, by their mass, their independence, and at the same time by the unity and connection of their operations, offer millions of millions of probability of payment against one of non-payment. Gold is a thousand times less sure.

" In fact, if, in the ordinary conditions of commerce, we may say that a bill of exchange made by a known merchant offers two chances of payment against one of non-payment, the same bill of exchange, if it is indorsed by another known merchant, will offer four chances of payment against one. If it is indorsed by three, four, or a greater number of merchants equally well known, there will be eight, sixteen, thirty-two, &c., to wager against one that three, four, five, &c., known merchants will not fail at the same time, since the favorable chances increase in geometrical proportion with the number of indorsers. What, then, ought to be the certainty of a bill of exchange made by a hundred thousand well-known subscribers, who are all of them interested to promote its circulation ?

" I add, that this title is susceptible of no depreciation. The reason for this is found, first, in the perfect solidity of a mass of a hundred thousand signers. But there exists another reason, more direct, and, if possible, more re-assuring : it is that the issues of the new paper can NEVER be exaggerated like those of ordinary bank-bills, treasury-notes, paper-money, assignats, &c. ; for the issues take place against *good commercial paper* only, and in the regular, necessarily limited, measured, and proportionate process of discounting. . . .

" In the combination I propose, the paper (at once sign of credit, and instrument of circulation) grows out of the best business-paper, which itself represents products *delivered*, and by no means merchandise *unsold*. This paper, I affirm, can never be refused in payment, since it is subscribed beforehand by the *mass of producers*.

"This paper offers so much the more security and convenience, inasmuch as it may be tried on a small scale, and with as few persons as you see fit, and that without the least violence, without the least peril.

"Suppose the Bank of Exchange to start at first on a basis of a thousand subscribers, instead of a hundred thousand: the amount of paper it would issue would be in proportion to the business of these thousand subscribers, and negotiable only among themselves. Afterwards, according as other persons should adhere to the bank, the proportion of bills would be as five thousand, ten thousand, fifty thousand, &c.; and their circulation would grow with the number of subscribers, as a money peculiar to them. Then, when the whole of France should have adhered to the statutes of the new bank, the issue of paper would be equal, at every instant, to the totality of circulating values. . . .

"I do not conceive it necessary to insist longer. Men acquainted with banking will understand me without difficulty, and will supply from their own minds the details of execution.

"As for the vulgar, who judge of all things by the material aspect, nothing for them is so similar to an assignat as a bill of the Bank of Exchange. For the economist, who searches the idea to the bottom, nothing is so different. They are two titles, which, under the same matter, the same form, the same denomination, are diametrically opposed to each other" (*Organisation du Credit et de la Circulation: Banque d'Exchange*, p. 23).—**MUTUAL BANKING**, by W. B. G., Brookfield, Mass., 1850.

#### THE PROVINCIAL LAND-BANK.

Gov. Hutchinson says, in his History of Massachusetts :—

"In the year 1714, a certain party had projected a private bank; or, rather, had taken up a project published in London in the year 1684: but, this not being generally known in America, a merchant of Boston was the reputed father of it. *There was nothing more in it than issuing bills of credit, which all*

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*the members of the company promised to receive as money, but at no certain value compared with silver and gold; and REAL ESTATE to a sufficient value was to be bound as a security that the company should perform their engagements.* They were soliciting the sanction of the General Court, and an act of government to incorporate them. This party generally consisted of persons in difficult or involved circumstances in trade; or such as were possessed of real estates, but had little or no ready money at command; or men of no substance at all: and we may well enough suppose the party to be very numerous. Some, no doubt, joined them from mistaken principles, and an apprehension that it was a scheme beneficial to the public; and some for party's sake and popular applause.

"Three of the representatives from Boston—Mr. Cooke; Mr. Noyes, a gentleman in great esteem with the inhabitants in general; and Mr. Payne—were the supporters of the party. Mr. Hutchinson, the other (an attempt to leave him out of the house not succeeding), was sent from the house to the council, where his opposition would be of less consequence. The governor was no favorer of the scheme; but the lieutenant-governor—a gentleman of no great fortune, and whose stipend from the government was trifling—engaged in the cause with great zeal.

"A third party, though very opposite to the private bank, yet were no enemies to bills of credit. They were in favor of loan-bills from the government to any of the inhabitants who would mortgage their estates as a security for the repayment of the bills, with interest in a term of years: the interest to be paid annually, and applied to the support of government. This was an easy way of paying public charges; which, no doubt, they wondered that in so many ages the wisdom of other governments had never discovered. The principal men of the council were in favor of it; and, it being thought by the first party the least of two evils, they fell in with the scheme; and, after that, the country was divided between the public and private bank. The House of Representatives was near equally divided, but rather favorers of the private bank, from the great influence of the *Boston members* in the house, and a great number of

persons of the town out of it. The controversy had an universal spread, and divided towns, parishes, and particular families.

"At length, after a long struggle, the party for the public bank prevailed in the General Court for a loan of fifty thousand pounds in bills of credit, which were put into the hands of trustees, and lent for five years only, to any of the inhabitants, at five per cent interest, one-fifth part of the principal to be paid annually. This lessened the number of the party for the private bank; but it increased the zeal, and raised a strong resentment, in those than remained." — THOMAS HUTCHINSON : *History of Massachusetts*, vol. ii. p. 188.

It is utterly inconceivable that any company of sane men should have seriously proposed to issue *paper money destitute of all fixed and determinate value as compared with gold and silver*, imagining that such money would circulate as currency. If paper money has "no certain value compared with silver and gold," it has no certain value compared with any commodity whatever; that is, it has no certain value at all: for, since gold and silver have a determinate value as compared with exchangeable commodities, all paper money that may be estimated in terms of marketable commodities may be estimated in terms of silver and gold. Our author will permit us to suspect that his uncompromising hostility, not only to the land-bank, but also to every thing else of a democratic tendency, blinded his eyes to the true nature of the institution he describes. Our suspicion is strengthened when we read that the paper money in question was to have a determinate value, since it was to have been secured by a pledge of "real estate to a sufficient value." The projectors of the scheme

probably intended that the members of the company should redeem their bills from the bill-holders by receiving them, in all payments, *in lieu* of determinate and specified amounts of gold and silver; and such a method of redemption would have given the bills "a certain value as compared with silver and gold." \*

Our author says, on a subsequent page,—

"In 1739, a great part of the Province was disposed to favor what was called the land-bank, or manufactory scheme; which was begun, or rather revived in this year, and produced such *great and lasting mischiefs*, that a particular relation of the rise, progress, and overthrow of it may be of use to discourage any attempts of the like nature in future ages." — *History of Massachusetts*, vol. ii. p. 352.

It appears, that, after an interval of twenty-five years, the land-bank scheme rose once again above the surface of the political and financial waters. Gov. Hutchinson says, that this scheme produced "great and lasting mischiefs." Let us see what these "mischiefs" were :—

"The project of the bank of 1714 was revived. The projector of that bank now put himself at the head of seven or eight hundred persons, *some few of rank and good estate, but generally of low condition among the plebeians*, and of small

\* "North Carolina, just after the Revolution, issued a large amount of paper, which was made receivable in dues to her. It was also made a legal tender; which, of course, was not obligatory after the adoption of the Federal Constitution. A large amount — say between four and five hundred thousand dollars — remained in circulation after that period, and continued to circulate for more than twenty years, *at par with gold and silver* during the whole time, *with no other advantage than being received in the revenue of the State*, which was much less than one hundred thousand dollars per annum." — JOHN C. CALHOUN: *Speech on the Bill authorizing an Issue of Treasury-Notes*, Sept. 19, 1837.

estate, and many of them perhaps insolvent. This notable company were to give credit to £150,000 lawful money, to be issued in bills ; *each person to mortgage a REAL ESTATE in proportion to the sums he subscribed and took out*, or to give bond with two sureties : but personal security was not to be taken for more than £100 from any one person. Ten directors and a treasurer were to be chosen by the company. Every subscriber or partner was to pay three per cent interest [per annum] for the sum taken out, and five per cent of the principal ; \* and he that did not pay bills might pay the produce and manufacture of the Province at such rates as the directors from time to time should set ; and they [the bills] should commonly pass in lawful money. The pretence was, that, by thus furnishing a medium and instrument of trade, not only the inhabitants in general would be better able to procure the Province bills of credit for their taxes, but trade, foreign and inland, would revive and flourish. The fate of the project was thought to depend on the opinion which the General Court should form of it. It was necessary, therefore, to have a house of representatives well disposed. Besides the eight hundred persons subscribers, *the needy part of the Province in general favored the scheme. One of their votes will go as far in elections as one of the most opulent.* The former are most numerous ; and it appeared that by far the majority of representatives for 1740 were subscribers to or favorers of the scheme, and they have ever since been distinguished by the name of the Land-Bank House.

*"Men of estates and the principal merchants of the Province abhorred the project, and refused to receive the bills ; but great numbers of shopkeepers, who had lived for a long time on the fraud of a depreciating currency, and many small traders, gave credit to the bills. The directors, it was said by a vote of the company, became traders, † and issued just such bills as they thought proper, without any fund or security for their ever being redeemed. They purchased every sort of commodity, ever so much a drug, for the sake of pushing off their bills ; and, by*

\* Thus the whole principal would be paid up in twenty years.

† See foregoing paragraph, where it is said that debts to the bank might be paid in manufactures and produce.

one means or other, a large sum — perhaps fifty or sixty thousand pounds — was abroad. To lessen the temptation to receive the bills, a company of merchants agreed to issue their notes, or bills redeemable in silver and gold at distant periods, much like the scheme in 1733, and attended with no better effect. *The governor exerted himself to blast this fraudulent undertaking, the land-bank. Not only such civil and military officers as were directors or partners, but all who received or paid any of the bills, were displaced. The governor negatived the person chosen speaker of the house, being a director of the bank; and afterwards negatived thirteen of the newly-elected counsellors, who were directors or partners in, or favorers of, the scheme.* But all was insufficient to suppress it. Perhaps the major part in number of the inhabitants of the Province, openly or secretly, were well-wishers of it. One of the directors afterwards acknowledged to me, that, although he entered into the company with a view to the public interest, YET, WHEN HE FOUND WHAT POWER AND INFLUENCE THEY HAD IN ALL PUBLIC CONCERNS, he was convinced it was more than belonged to them, more than they could make a good use of, and therefore unwarrantable. Many of the more sensible, discreet persons of the province saw a general confusion at hand. The authority of parliament to control all public and private persons and proceedings in the Colonies, was, at that day, questioned by nobody. Application was therefore made to parliament for an act to suppress the company; which, notwithstanding the opposition made by their agent, was very easily obtained; and therein it was declared that the act of the sixth of King George I., chapter the eighteenth, did, does, and shall extend to the colonies and plantations of America. It was said the act of George I., when it was passed, had no relation to America; but another act, twenty years after, gave it force, even from the passing it, which it never could have had without. THIS WAS SAID TO BE AN INSTANCE OF THE TRANSCENDENT POWER OF PARLIAMENT. Although the company was dissolved, yet the act of parliament gave the possessors of the bills a right of action against every partner or director for the sums expressed WITH INTEREST. The company were in a maze. At a general meeting, some, it is

*said, were for running all hazards, although the act subjected them to a *præmunire*; but the directors had more prudence, and advised them to declare that they considered themselves dissolved, and met only to consult upon some method of redeeming their bills of the possessors; which every man engaged to endeavor in proportion to his interest, and to pay in to the directors, or some of them, to burn or destroy. Had the company issued their bills at the value expressed in the face of them, they would have had no reason to complain at being obliged to redeem them at the same rate: but as this was not the case in general, and many of the possessors of the bills had acquired them for half their value, as expressed, equity could not be done; and, so far as respected the company, perhaps, the parliament was not very anxious; the loss they sustained being but a just penalty for their unwarrantable undertaking, if it had been properly applied. Had not the parliament interposed, the province would have been in the utmost confusion, AND THE AUTHORITY OF GOVERNMENT ENTIRELY IN THE LAND-BANK COMPANY.*"—Page 353.

The "mischiefs" occasioned by this land-bank seem to have been political, rather than economical; for our author nowhere affirms that the bill-holders, not members of the company, lost any thing by the institution. We would remark, that there are certain "mischiefs" which are regarded with indulgence by posterity. Gov. Hutchinson ought to have explained more in detail the nature of the evils he complains of, and also to have told us why he, a declared enemy of popular institutions, opposed the advocates of the bank so uncompromisingly. Mutualism operates, by its very nature, to render political government, founded on arbitrary force, superfluous; that is, it operates to the decentralization of the political power, and to the transformation of the State, by substitut-

ing self-government in the stead of government *ab extra*. The land-bank of 1740, which embodied the mutual principle, operated vigorously in opposition to the government. Can we wonder that it had to be killed by an arbitrary stretch "of the supreme power of parliament," and by an *ex post facto* law bearing outrageously on the individual members of the company? For our part, we admire the energy—the confidence in the principle of mutualism—of those members who proposed to go on in spite of parliament, "although the act subjected them to a *præmu-nire*."

But where is the warning to future ages? According to Gov. Hutchinson's own statement, the fault of the bank was, that it would have succeeded *too well* if it had had a fair trial; nay, that it would have succeeded in spite of all obstacles, had it not been for the exertion of "the transcendent power of parliament." Where is the bank of these degenerate days that has shown any thing like the same power of endurance? Some of the existing banks find it difficult to live with the power of government exerted in their favor!

We remark, in conclusion, that the depreciation in the provincial currency was occasioned, not by land-bank—that is, by mutual—paper, which the parliament forced the issuers, by an arbitrary, vindictive, and tyrannical law, to redeem *with interest*; but it was occasioned by government-paper professing to be ultimately redeemable in gold and silver.\* All argu-

\* "We are told that there is no instance of a government-paper that did not depreciate. In reply, I affirm that there is none assuming the form I pro-

ments, therefore, against mutual money, derived from the colonial currency, are foreign to the purpose.—  
MUTUAL BANKING. *By W. B. G., Brookfield, Mass., 1850.*

pose (notes receivable by government in payment of dues) that ever did depreciate. Whenever a paper receivable in the dues of government had any thing like a fair trial, it has succeeded. Instance the case of North Carolina referred to in my opening remarks. The drafts of the treasury at this moment, with all their encumbrance, are nearly at a par with gold and silver; and I might add the instance alluded to by the distinguished senator from Kentucky, in which he admits, that, as soon as the excess of the issues of the Commonwealth Bank of Kentucky were reduced to the proper point, its notes rose to par. The case of Russia might also be mentioned. In 1827, she had a fixed paper circulation in the form of bank-notes, but which were inconveritible, of upward of a hundred and twenty million dollars, estimated in the metallic ruble, and which had for years remained without fluctuation; having nothing to sustain it, but that it was received in the dues of government, and that, too, with a revenue of only about ninety million dollars annually.”—JOHN C. CALHOUN: *Speech on his Amendment to separate the Government from the Banks*, Oct. 3, 1837.



POST-FACE.—When the foregoing pamphlet was shown to us in print, and we had an opportunity to consider it in its height and depth, and length and breadth, and also to gauge it diagonally, we concluded to make a clean thing of the whole business at once, and to republish, in a single volume, such papers of ours as we can now lay our hands on, and which we can muster courage to publish. The documents will be found in print on the pages following. No particular order of dates will be observed.

W. B. G.

**CRITICAL COMMENTS  
UPON  
DR. EDWARD H. CLARKE'S BOOK ON  
“SEX IN EDUCATION.”**



## CRITICAL COMMENTS.

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IT has been remarked, both recently and of old time, that man comprises in himself two natures,—on the one hand, the nature of an angel, and, on the other, the nature of a beast. He is both animal and spiritual. If he lives to his spiritual nature, he enters upon eternal life; but, if he lives to his animal nature, the sentence has already gone forth against him: “Dying, thou shalt surely die!” And the death-sentence takes hold upon man in the precise proportion that beastliness assumes predominance in his life. For man, the death of the body is inevitable, and is determined by time and circumstance; but, with proper precaution, the death of the soul may be totally avoided.

Dr. EDWARD H. CLARKE has four mottoes to his little book on “Sex in Education,”—one from Dr. Holmes, and which Dr. Holmes will probably not be pleased to find cited in this connection; one from Guizot, which appears to be important, accurate, and full of truthfulness of spirit; another from Charles Lamb, directly contradicting the one from Guizot;

and, finally, one from Plato. These mottoes read thus:—

“An American female constitution, which collapses just in the middle third of life, and comes out vulcanized india-rubber, if it happen to live through the period where health and strength are most wanted.” — OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

“We trust that the time now approaches when man’s condition shall be progressively improved by the force of reason and truth, when the brute part of nature shall be crushed, that the godlike spirit may unfold.” — GUIZOT.

“He revered and upheld, in every form in which it came before him, womanhood . . . What a woman should demand is respect for her as she is a woman. Let her first lesson be, with sweet Susan Winstanley, to reverence her sex.” — CHARLES LAMB.

“Is there any thing better in a State than that both women and men be rendered the very best? There is not.” — PLATO.

Jesus said, “They that rise from the dead neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels which are in heaven” (Mark xii. 25). There is no sex for the soul. If the American women stand on Guizot’s maxim, they may win a point; but, if they stand on Charles Lamb’s maxim, they abdicate the rights inhering in their angelic nature (which the New Testament says is unsexual), and stamp on themselves the superscription of the beast, under whose banners they enlist. *Womanhood* as such, like *manhood* as such, and like every thing else that is distinctively sexual, belongs not to the angelic, but to the beastly part of human nature. It dies in the dying of the body, and knows no immortality. Plato wishes women and men to be rendered their very best; but he does not say—at the least he does not say it in the passage quoted by Dr. Clarke—that he considers that best to be the perfect contradistinction of

the two as sexual animals. We are persuaded that Plato agrees in this matter with Guizot rather than with Charles Lamb. Dr. Clarke says afterwards, in his preface, —

“Great plainness of speech will be observed throughout this essay. The nature of the subject it discusses, the general misapprehension both of the strong and weak points in the physiology of the woman question, and the ignorance displayed by many, of what the co-education of the sexes really means, all forbid that ambiguity of language, or euphemism of expression, should be employed in the discussion. *The subject is treated solely from the standpoint of physiology.*”

The Italics are ours. We approve of plainness of speech, and shall observe it in our own remarks. The reader is warned beforehand. He knows, before reading the body of Dr. Clarke's book, just what he is to expect. Woman's constitution as a mere animal is to be fully considered; and her angelic nature — of which nothing can be perceived from the physiological standpoint — is to be ignored: and this in a book treating of woman's *education*. Now the education of woman is nothing other than her progress as an immortal soul, and is to be contradistinguished from her mere instruction, and, much more, from simple animal training. The doctor says, in the beginning of the book, —

“Both sexes are bound by the same code of morals: both are amenable to the same divine law. Both have a right to do the best they can; or, to speak more justly, both should feel the duty, and have the opportunity, to do their best. Each must justify its existence by becoming a complete development of manhood or womanhood; and each should refuse whatever limits or dwarfs that development.”

The first part of this extract is obviously true ; but, in the last part, the author is at direct issue with the founder of the Christian religion. Jesus calls on men and women to be spiritual, and spiritual at the direct expense of the flesh. The spirit is devoid of sex. Jesus did not say to the young man who had great possessions, or to Lazarus, whom he raised from the dead, “Develop your *manhood*.” Neither did he tell Mary Magdalen, or the woman who anointed his feet, “and was a sinner,” or his own mother, to cultivate *womanhood*. Thus far, Dr. Clarke says nothing at all about religion as having a bearing on the education of girls ; and yet, in the common opinion, a woman devoid of religion is not worth the salt she eats. We are persuaded that something might be written from the “standpoint” of religion about the education of girls. We always liked Saint Theresa, and mainly because she said, when she was reduced to her last four cents, “Theresa is nothing, and four cents are not much ; but Theresa, four cents, and God are all things.” Theresa forgot her own miserable carcass, and thought of God. We apprehend that nothing will be found in all her voluminous writings, inculcating the duty of a complete development of “womanhood.” We are aware that a woman has a body as well as an immortal soul, and have nothing to say in derogation of the body ; but the question in hand relates to “education.” The doctor goes on to say, —

“The problem of woman’s sphere, to use the modern phrase, *is not to be solved by applying to it abstract principles of right and wrong. Its solution must be obtained from physiology, no*

from ethics or metaphysics. The question must be submitted to Agassiz and Huxley, not to Kant or Calvin, not to Church or Pope."

The "sphere" of woman, *quoad* womb-man, or man as distinctively characterized by the possession of a womb, is, without question, a matter of physiological determination; but woman is essentially a human being as well as a *womb*-man, and, as such, lives three lives: (1) a life of the body, (2) a life of the soul, and (3) a life of the spirit. Woman, *quoad* human being, has *three* spheres, not *one* sphere only. Of one of these spheres the physiologist knows more than either the lawyer or the clergyman. In matters relating to another of these spheres, the lawyers, after consulting Kant, or some other metaphysician, give opinions, which, in the public estimation, are of more weight than those of the physiologists and the clergymen. In matters pertaining to the third sphere, it is the authority of Calvin and of other clergymen, of the Church, and of the Pope, that takes precedence. Woman's sphere is not simple, but complex: it is *triple* as well as *one*. Abstract principles of right and wrong, and maxims of ethics, metaphysics, and theology, as well as physiological considerations, enter as essential elements into the problem of woman's sphere. The Pope knows as much about woman as Agassiz ever did, but in a different way. The claim of the physiologists to sit in judgment, and to determine the exact limits of woman's sphere, denying the right of the lawyers and clergymen to hold and express any opinion on the *matter*, is *exorbitant*. The physiologists, sitting

alone, do not constitute a court of competent jurisdiction.

"What can woman best do? A girl can hold a plough and ply a needle after a fashion. If she can do both better than a man, she ought to be both farmer and seamstress; but if, on the whole, her husband can hold best the plough, and she ply best the needle, they should divide the labor."

For purposes of mere education (and education is the matter under discussion), a person should exercise himself the more assiduously in things for which he has the less natural aptitude.

"Man is not superior to woman, nor woman to man. The relation of the sexes is one of equality, not of better and worse, or of higher and lower. By this it is not intended to say that the sexes are the same. They are different, widely different, from each other, and so different, that each can do, in certain directions, what the other cannot; and in other directions, where both can do the same things, one sex, as a rule, can do them better than the other; and in other matters they seem to be so nearly alike, that they can interchange labor without perceptible difference."

All this is so.

"Much of the discussion of the irrepressible woman-question, and many of the efforts for bettering her condition and widening her sphere, seem to ignore any difference of the sexes; seem to treat her as if she were identical with man, and to be trained in precisely the same way; as if her organization, and consequently her function, were masculine, not feminine. There are those who write and act as if their object were to assimilate woman as much as possible to man, by dropping all that is distinctively feminine out of her, and putting into her as large an amount of masculinity as is possible."

This, also, is so. But, if it be a mistake to ignore the difference of the sexes, it is also a mistake to

suppose that human nature, as embodied in the two sexes, is not always identical to itself. Woman is just twice as much identical with man as she is different from him; for men and women are alike in soul and spirit, and different in body only. The theory that a woman is filling her sphere when she is in a condition to conceive a proper child, and to nurse it healthily after it is born, is (putting the point with extreme moderation) much more satisfactory from the standpoint of the man than it is from that of the woman. Such a view of the case is Oriental and far-fetched. Suppose the nearer, more practical, and Occidental case of a Massachusetts "school-marm" of an uncertain age, who was never married, and who long ago outgrew the expectation of ever being married. This woman probably recollects the time when her womanhood was complete; but, as she found no use for it, she long ago turned her thoughts upon other things. At the present moment, she perhaps finds herself doing man's work for woman's pay, and therefore requiring more "masculineness" in her composition than man has; for she finds herself obliged to make both ends meet under harder conditions than man is subjected to. Perhaps it is because she has infirm parents to support, and young children of deceased sisters to care for, that she "drops all that is distinctively feminine out of her, and puts into herself as large an amount of masculineness as is possible." She certainly has a call for all the grit she can command. Shall this woman, intelligent, well-educated, knowing her own position, and knowing the existing condition of society, go into her

school, look upon her flock of girl-scholars, and remember the sole maxims of sexual physiology, to the exclusion of much more important matters of equally real fact? She knows perfectly well, that—under the present system of industrial production and economic distribution, and under the consequences of that system as determined by the general civilization of the nineteenth century—less than one-half of her girls will ever be decently married, less than one-half of them will ever have a legitimate use for their womanhood, and that the womanhood of the majority will be simply a monthly curse to them. She knows that the majority of her girls are predestined to do man's work; that is to say, that they are predestined to support themselves by their own toil, and to earn a living for such other persons as may become dependent upon them for support. There are many more women in Massachusetts than there are men: what disposal can you make, physiologically, of the womanhood of the surplus? Without doubt, woman suffrage, the co-education of the sexes, the admission of women to men's colleges, and the like, are all bosh,\* and mainly because utterly inadequate to the result the women expect from them; but the indignant impulse which causes our supposititious school-marm (and, as for that, she is *real* enough) to clamor mistakenly for them, is, nevertheless, the most respectable thing there is out.

"Some who hold and advocate these views are of those, who, having passed middle life without the symmetry and development

\* This word is a very proper one to use in this place, since it is *pure Hebrew*, and has the same meaning in Hebrew that it has in *English*.

that maternity gives, have drifted into the hermaphroditic condition that sometimes accompanies spinsterism."

They who take cognizance of all the facts (moral, spiritual, and physical), and refuse to look at human relations from the sole physiological standpoint, find, in view of the social misfortune here alluded to, an occasion for pitiful indulgence, and for softened and qualified statements and judgments. It is not always through inexcusable perverseness that a spinster drifts into the hermaphroditic condition: to maintain the contrary would be an assault on legal and conventional morality. By reason of social circumstances over which they have no control, marriage may or may not be possible to them; but simple maternity is always, at some period of their lives, within easy reach of the spinsters. After all, with the physiological facts dead against her, there is something soldier-like and priestly, and also a certain heroism, in the life of a Massachusetts spinster.

"The loftiest ideal of humanity, rejecting all comparisons of inferiority and superiority between the sexes, demands that each shall be perfect in its kind, and not be hindered in its best work. The lily is not inferior to the rose, nor the oak superior to the clover; yet the glory of the lily is one, and the glory of the oak is another, and the use of the oak is not the use of the clover."

God created the grass, trees, birds, great whales, cattle, and the like, each individual according to the *kind* of that individual; but he created *mankind* (men and women) in his own image. The true *kind* of woman is *the image of God*.

"The presumption is, that if woman, subjected to a masculine training, arranged for the development of a masculine organization,

can" [sometimes] "equal man, she ought to excel him, if educated by a feminine training, arranged to develop a feminine organization. . . . It may be affirmed that an appropriate method of education for girls—one that should not ignore the mechanism of their bodies, or blight any of their vital organs" [or any of their spiritual faculties]—"would yield a better result than any the world has yet seen."

This is timely, excellent, and well stated.

"Boys must study and work in a boy's way, and girls in a girl's way. They may study the same books, and attain an equal result, but should not follow the same method. . . . For both sexes there is no exception to the law, that their greatest power and largest attainment lie in the perfect development of their organization."

The histories of the saints, both male and female, demonstrate, that in them, very frequently, the physical organization, so far from being "perfectly developed," is, on the contrary, wilted and withered. The souls of the saints and saintesses shine out from their mortified and attenuated bodies, as a candle shines through the transparent sides of a lantern. St. Paul said, "I keep my body under." St. Theresa crucified her flesh, and became the spiritual mother of an innumerable progeny, gathered out of all nations, of saintlike men and women. Would the result have been any more satisfactory, if Theresa, after perfecting the development of her special organization, *quoad* womb-man, had become the physical maternal ancestor of a particular line of robust leatherheads?

"Wherein the girls are men, they should be educated as men: *wherein they are women, they should be educated as women.*

The physiological motto is, Educate a man for manhood, a woman for womanhood, both for humanity. In this lies the hope of the race."

Dr. Clarke overestimates the value of manhood. Isaac Newton, if the biographers are to be believed, never experienced the sentiment of manhood. The same is affirmed of Charles XII., the heroic Swedish king. A great part of the French people have always refused to believe that the great Napoleon was the father of the King of Rome. Men of the stamp of George Washington, or of Andrew Jackson, beget no children. Cæsar had no heirs of his own body. Alexander the Great had no heirs of his own body. Charlemagne had children who inherited no one quality of their father; and what guaranty have we that they were his? Accumulators of property establish lines and houses; and their capacities and capabilities are transmitted from generation to generation: but where are the existing illustrious representatives, by virtue of actual descent, of Luther, Calvin, Melanchthon, Shakspeare, Milton, Raphael, Michael Angelo, Columbus, Cortez, Pizarro, and their peers? Such illustrious representatives of past greatness may, possibly, at the present time, exist somewhere; but we seldom hear of them. Noble houses are usually founded by successful soldiers, statesmen, and counsellors; but they receive the element of endurance, which is their distinguishing characteristic, then only when they become established on a sound property basis in land, and when, through intermarriages, the blood of the founders has been practically eliminated, and new blood—blood *representing conservatism*, to the exclusion of

active energy— has been brought into them. When a great man, like Lord Byron, rises up to further illustrate an already illustrious line, he is usually, in respect to the matter of his singular abilities, the son of his mother, and the near or remote descendant of some man who bears, not his and his father's, but his mother's name. Again: the word "educate," as the doctor here uses it, is out of place: the proper word would be "train." The physiological motto should read, "*Train* a man for manhood, a woman for womanhood, both for humanity." From the sole physiological standpoint, the word "educate" is void of meaning.

"Perhaps it should be mentioned, in this connection, that, throughout this paper, education is not used in the limited and technical sense of intellectual or mental training alone. By saying there is a boy's way of study and a girl's way of study, it is not asserted that the intellectual process which masters Juvenal, German, or chemistry, is different for the two sexes. Education is here intended to include what its etymology indicates,—the drawing-out and development of every part of the system; and this necessarily includes the whole manner of life, physical and psychical, during the educational period."

Whenever the word "education is used in the sense of intellectual or mental *training*, alone" or other, it is used wrongly. What Dr. Clarke appears to have in his mind, when he affirms that a general *training*, which applies to the whole human system, is equivalent to an education, is not properly "education," or *drawing-out*, but drill and discipline. Drill and discipline are never equivalent to education: they give culture, not education. Education implies vocation; and, where vocation is absent, education is impossible.

Under a fair show of words, the doctor appears to be really ignoring the existence of the human soul, and the fact of its essential spontaneity. John Bunyan was a man of no culture at all, but one who, from his own spiritual struggles, aided by the Spirit of the Most High, and without any special physical training, received a consummate education. No possible culture could have produced the "Pilgrim's Progress." Cobbett was a man of education without culture. Shakspeare had very little culture. Milton was a man of both education and culture, but of more culture than education. The doctor introduces the word "psychical" very aptly; but why is he so delicate in his mention of the human soul that he speaks of it in Greek, as though it were something requiring, for its proper indication, a term constructed according to the analogy of the jargon of physical science? The human soul is something respectable enough to deserve a mention in plain English. If, to the doctor's mind, the word "soul" stands for any thing more than a mere efflorescence of the material organism which is man's body, the doctor fails to give any adequate evidence of the fact.

"It has been and is the misfortune of this country, and particularly of New England, that education, stripped of its proper signification, has popularly stood for studying, without regard to the physical training, or no training, that the schools afford."

That is so. Dr. Clarke might have added to his extract from Plato another passage, wherein the great philosopher affirms that "**VIRTUE**" (including, of course, *the sentiments of justice and mercy, and*

the appreciation of beauty and the faculty for it, whether in material things, which is art-power, or in honorable and heroic character and conduct, which is a faculty of a higher kind) "CANNOT BE TAUGHT." If the Creator puts no "virtue" into a man's spiritual nature, no one else can put it in; and the man must get along as well as he can without it. From that which contains nothing, nothing can be "drawn out." It is high time that the school-teachers, the school-committees, and the honorable, the board of education, should be authoritatively *informed* that *instruction* (or piling in) is not education (or *drawing out*.) We now come to a matter of greater present interest.

"The delicate bloom, early but rapidly-fading beauty, and singular pallor, of American girls and women, have almost passed into a proverb. The first observation of a European that lands upon our shores is, that our women are a feeble race; and, if he is a physiological observer, he is sure to add, 'They will give birth to a feeble race, not of women only, but of men as well.' 'I never saw before so many pretty girls together,' said Lady Amherst to the writer, after a visit to the public schools of Boston; and then added, 'They all looked sick.'"

Dr. Clarke quotes the opinion of an English woman: we will quote the counter-opinion, as expressed by another English woman. When the writer of this critical commentary was living in Paris, many years ago, he had the privilege to be present in a parlor almost filled with American ladies, at an evening party given in honor of Mrs. Gaskell, the distinguished author of "Mary Barton." The lady is, without doubt, well known to the reader by reputation. *After an hour or so of general conversation, Mrs.*

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Gaskell suddenly became very silent, and appeared to be watchful and reflecting. She remained after the rest of the company went away, with the intention, as we supposed, of telling the last part of a terrific ghost-story she had begun before the company came, and had not had time to finish; but she soon undeceived us by entering upon an enthusiastic discourse in praise of the beauty of American women. We replied to her with the orthodox formulas, and told her that "the delicate bloom indicated sickliness;" that "the beauty soon faded;" and that, if America had the handsomer girls, England had the handsomer women. Mrs. Gaskell answered, "That is not so. The contrary is true. I have now, for many years, carefully watched such of the American girls and women as we see in Europe. In your country, *every* girl is pretty during some brief period of her life; while in Europe there are many girls who are not, never have been, and never will be, pretty. You see American girls fade, and praise English women because they do not thus fade; but you must remember that those special English women that are now in your mind never were pretty, and had nothing to fade from. Besides, it is not true that the beauty of the American women always fades. There were here, this evening, three ladies who are no longer at all young, and they are all three of them of extraordinary beauty, as beauty goes here in Europe, and of a beauty appropriate to their age." We reflected for a moment, and acknowledged that Mrs. Gaskell was in the right. The exact fact seems to be this: the *American girls are the prettiest in Christendom; they*

fade after they are married; and their beauty returns to them when their health becomes again consolidated. The city of Boston has as many handsome old ladies as any other city of its size in the whole world.

There is a great deal of humbug ventilated about the degeneracy of the American women. It was affirmed in the early part of the late war, that the Southern armies were made up of Crackers, and poor white trash; but it was demonstrated to the North, and to its entire satisfaction, before the war was over, that the Southern women had by no means "given birth to a feeble race, not of women only, but of men as well." And we venture to affirm that no Southern soldier will say any thing in derogation of the capacity of Northern women to bring forth men-children competent, upon attaining the age for military service, to ride a horse, to carry a musket, and to handle cannon. The majority of our best soldiers had pale, spiritual-looking mothers, with the American nerve in them, such as you seldom see in Europe,— women whose souls shine through them. Women of this pallid, spiritual style of beauty seldom give birth to boobies. [It frequently happens that the English observer, just landing on our shores, who is moreover a physiologist, is also an ass.]

We are persuaded that the greater number of the sick girls who have come under Dr. Clarke's care are heiresses, girls who have been "unsphered" by reason of their exceptional social position. Now, the general ill-health of the heiresses is no argument to prove that all, or an inordinate number, of the *American girls* are in an unhealthy condition. The heiresses

form an imperceptible fraction of the population; for not one woman in a hundred ever inherits any thing to speak of in the way of property. The ill-health of the working-girls, that is to say, of the majority of our girls, is to be attributed to causes other than those especially dwelt upon by Dr. Clarke. "The curse of the poor is their poverty." We suspect, that outside of New England, and of some of the Western cities, it is not in the schools frequented by the children of the mass of the people, but in the high schools, the normal schools, the expensive boarding-schools, and the colleges, that the sexual apparatus of the girls becomes unshipped. If all the heiresses in the country should die to-night, there would be great mourning in families, and good reason for great mourning; but American society as a whole would be totally unconscious of the gap. Nevertheless, it ought to be noticed, in this particular connection, that some of our most heroic soldiers were the sons of very rich and very pale-faced heiresses.

"To a large extent, our present system of educating girls is the cause of their pallor and weakness. . . . Let it be remembered that this is not asserting that such methods of education are the sole cause of female weakness, but only that they are one cause, and one of the most important causes, of it. An immense loss of female power may be fairly charged to irrational cooking and indigestible diet. We live in the zone of perpetual pie and doughnut; and our girls revel in those unassimilable abominations. Much, also, may be credited to artificial deformities strapped to the spine, or piled on the head; much to corsets and skirts; and as much to the omission of clothing where it is needed as to excess where the body does not require it: but, after the amplest allowance for these as causes of weakness, there remains a large margin of dis-

ease unaccounted for. Those grievous maladies which torture a woman's earthly existence, called leucorrhœa, amenorrhœa, dysmenorrhœa, chronic and acute ovaritis, prolapsus uteri," &c.

Let us stop right here. The pale-faced, spiritual beauty of the American women goes straight to the hearts of the men; not only to the hearts of the American men, but to the hearts of men beyond the seas, wherever the American women travel, and show themselves. Roseate beauty is a rejoicing to the eyes; but pallid beauty speaks to the soul. Will Dr. Clarke pretend that all the men, with the exception of a few physiologists, are fraudulently deceived? Will he pretend that the spiritual aspect of our women is to be attributed, to a large extent, not to the spirit that is in them, and that shines through them, but to bad education, doughnuts, bustles, chignons, corsets, hoop-skirts, too much clothing on one part of the body, too little on another, and to the diseases he designates by hard names constructed out of the dead languages; which names we have the satisfaction never to have seen before, and which we are unable to find in our dictionary? Victoria Woodhull has already made this brutal exposition, and has done it much better than the doctor is doing it after her. Victoria Woodhull, in the prosecution of her stirpicultural mission, hammers on the same anvil that Dr. Clarke hammers on. She has no call to answer the doctor; but other ladies, who differ from the doctor, and would like to reply to him, have no chance against him. Cavalry cannot charge at full gallop through dense woods. These other ladies are *particular* about their style of writing, are solicitous

to avoid obscenity in expression, and cannot follow the doctor where he goes. The doctor is obviously in the right, and common-sense supports him, so long as he keeps clear of ethics, metaphysics, social questions, and offensive physiological tactics: he might, therefore, have afforded to be generous, and to have met the ladies in a chivalrous way in the open field. Is it the fault of the women that their Creator has made them liable to diseases from which the men are by nature exempt, and which the ladies say the men have no right to talk about in public, and which the ladies refuse to talk about in public? Grant that the girls are ignorant and take no proper care of their bodies: what follows? It follows that private physicians in private families have been taking fees for the last hundred years, not rendering in full the services for which the fees were paid. It is as much the duty of the physicians to privately admonish the others of the girls in respect to their daughters' health as it is the duty of the priests to instruct both others and daughters in points pertaining to the salvation of their souls. These matters that are publicly bruited by Dr. Clarke have become a public scandal; and it is mainly the fault of family physicians that the grounds for this scandal ever came to exist. It is obvious, however, from the plain tenor of his book, that Dr. Clarke is not himself liable to ensure for neglecting to inform the women in respect to their physiological duties. He, at least, has cleared *his* skirts. But he ought to have assaulted the medical fraternity in Latin, not the women in English.

"Let the statement be emphasized and reiterated, until it is heeded, that woman's neglect of her own organization, though not the sole explanation and cause of her many weaknesses, more than any single cause, adds to their number, and intensifies their power."

"More than any single cause." Is the doctor's insight so exclusive, that it renders him blind to the general movement of the world he lives in? Our women are sickly, not simply because they have not studied physiology, not through the fault of the schools only, not merely because they have had a defective physical training, but, also, because the advance of the nineteenth century civilization has left them all stranded in a false social position. The material and social revolution which has taken place in the course of the last eighty or a hundred years has rendered American housekeeping more and more impossible, and has definitively displaced "the sphere" of the American women. The position of the single women is already untenable, and that of the married women is rapidly becoming impossible. The difficulty is not where the doctor places it, but in existing laws and customs which belong, to a very great extent, exclusively to a state of society that is rapidly passing away,—laws and customs that are now practically shutting out the American women from any legitimate "sphere" of activity in the new form of society that is gradually establishing itself. Advancing civilization has destroyed woman's former "sphere," and has not yet given her a new one.

*"Our great-grandmothers are pointed at as types of female physical excellence; their great-grand-daughters, as illustrations*

of female physical degeneracy. There is consolation, however, in the hope, based on substantial physiological data, that our great-grand-daughters may recapture their ancestors' bloom and force."

It appears from old family records, and from inscriptions on gravestones, that the early colonists had, on the average, two or three wives apiece; not all at once, however, but one wife after another. These women died, the one after the other, in consequence of over-heroic efforts to people this vast western continent; the women believing, that, in so doing, they were performing a divinely-appointed task. With the social conditions of their day, the civilization of their day, the housekeeping of their day, and, above all, the religion of their day, the Puritan women had a "sphere" wherein they could assuage, by constant exercise, the intense activities of their souls and spirits. That "sphere" can never be restored. The American women can never be put back into the religious and domestic condition of their great-grandmothers. Since the time of our great-grandmothers, we have had an American Revolution and a French Revolution, to say nothing of partial ineffectual revolutions all over Europe. In consequence of these revolutions, we have had a multiplicity of newspapers, no end of pamphlets on political economy, a rapid advance of experimental science, the establishment of public schools, and the rise of socialism and communism. Thorough conservatism always has obscurantism as its indispensable ally; and obscurantism never yet obtained any effectual foothold in New England. To instruct a people, without, at the same time, making a well thought-

out, deliberate, and radical change in its legal condition and social organization, is to inaugurate the Social Revolution ; and this is the precise thing that the Americans have done. If you take a man from the plough, and educate him, you must give him an enlarged sphere of activity ; for he will never willingly return to the plough under the old conditions. Public schools mean social regeneration, or else revolution. Protestant Prussia thought she could *direct* the education of her people, supposing that education might have a form impressed upon it by mere instruction, not knowing that education directs itself, and receives its form from the outbreaking spontaneities of the human soul : she therefore gave her people universal and gratuitous instruction ; and to-day the revolutionary agitators regard Prussia as being, so far as their projects are concerned, ahead of France, and more completely in their hands. In Prussia the social revolution is imminent. The same causes work in the same way on our side of the water. Our girls read the newspapers, and, moreover, they read French novels. They know Manfred : they know Lelia also. They also speculate upon the problem whether the world would be able to get along with the children of Manfred and Lelia, in the case that those two should, unfortunately, ever be married. None of the more refined speculations of French and German infidelity have been kept hidden from our young ladies. Can you blot out from the hearts of our girls the results of a hundred years and more of spontaneity and of sedulous training ? Can you put them *back into* the position of their great-grandmothers,

who knew little, and cared for nothing, beyond the routine of housekeeping, and the Shorter Westminster Catechism ?

There are many single rooms in the upper stories of the new buildings on the burned district, in which you may find a hundred girls working together. Go into the stores on Washington Street, Winter Street, Tremont Street, or Hanover Street, and you will find girls behind almost every counter, and in almost every accountant's desk. Go into the street at the edge of the evening, and you will see flocks of girls going home from their work, almost all of them pretty, many with intellectual faces, but, unfortunately, very few of them showing any trace of years. Their average wages are less than a dollar a day ; and, for those of them that wait behind counters, to be prettily dressed is a necessity. What would our great-grandmothers have thought of this state of things ? Will you have all these girls go out to service in other women's households ? If these girls should go out to service, what would become of the clothing business, the paper-box business, the stitching of ladies' shoes, and a hundred other industries, without which the material prosperity of Boston would be null, and the husbands of the mistresses would have no money wherewith to pay the wages of the servant-maids ? If the producers should fail, the merchants and bankers would also become bankrupt.

The advance of the nineteenth century civilization has already created, in this country, contradistinguished employing and employed classes. Are the *women of the employing classes* any better off than

the others? Judging from their frantic outcries for woman-suffrage, masculine education, and new property laws, we should infer, that, although their material welfare is not seriously endangered as yet, they are finding themselves on the brink of a new social condition, in which real happiness is impossible. The instincts of the ladies are everywhere alarmed. The housekeeping strain has become so intense, that the rich ladies, who live and receive on a grand scale, are no longer able to bear it. Our great-grandmothers would never have been able to keep house under our modern conditions, with our multiplicity of servants, and in our up-and-down structures, five and six stories steep: they required the old-fashioned two-story house, with a garden round it, and the pig-pen, for the reception of refuse, at an easy distance. They were competent themselves to do the whole work of their own households, and were independent of servants. Air-tight stoves, furnaces, gas, Cochituate water, with the necessity for eternal plumbing, horse-cars, steam-cars, dependence upon servants, waterproofs, india-rubber overshoes, foreign travel, foreign literature, new-fangled dances, and a thousand other things, have revolutionized the system of American life.

Again: the just, necessary, and inevitable changes that are made by the Massachusetts legislature, year after year, regularly, respecting the tenure of women's property, are putting the women into an impossible situation. As soon as the wife's property will be no longer liable, in any way whatever, for the husband's debts, there will arise a logical necessity for a legis-

lative declaration of the non-liability of the husband for debts contracted by the wife for her own support ; but, when the husband is no longer liable for the wife's support, legal marriage, as it has heretofore been defined by the statute-book, is at an end. Besides, the present extravagant rate of living, and the growing absolute independence of the women in respect to property, render the young men averse to marriage.

"When travelling in the East, some years ago, it was my fortune to be summoned as a physician into a harem. With curious and not unwilling steps I obeyed the summons. While examining the patient, nearly a dozen Syrian girls — a grave Turk's wifely crowd, his matrimonial bouquet, and armful of connubial bliss— pressed around the divan with eyes and ears intent, to see and hear a Western hakim's medical examination. As I looked upon their well-developed forms, their brown skins, rich with the blood and sun of the East, and their unintelligent, sensuous faces, I thought that if it were possible to marry the Oriental care of woman's organization to the Western liberty and culture of her brain, there would be a new birth and loftier type of womanly grace and force."

The Oriental woman has "a sphere" with which she is ignorant enough and stupid enough to be satisfied; but, as a general thing, she is not well versed in physiology ; and her "care for her organization" is, like that of the female animals, not reflective and deliberate. The Puritan women had a "sphere," and a magnificent one. The existing American woman has no longer any adequate "sphere" of her own. The ideals of the American woman simply torment and exasperate her, and that because she has no sufficient opportunity to actualize them. When women find *the sphere of their spontaneous activity* becoming

more and more narrowed every day, some of them accept the situation, and degenerate into mere human animals: those of them who are more ambitious compete with the men, try to become men, and destroy themselves physiologically in the way described by Dr. Clarke; but the great majority sulk. Sometimes, however, the situation becomes too intense; and intellectual and spiritual women feel that they are menaced, by the current of events, with being reduced to the condition of Asiatic women, and are apprehensive of becoming mere physiological organisms, and articles of ornament and luxury: it is then, and usually then only, that many of them conclude the world has gone on long enough, and silently abort their children. A state of society in which a woman finds nothing *for her* is one that she regards as not worth living in, and one which her children's interest requires that they should not be born into. History furnishes examples of great and richly-endowed races that suddenly and mysteriously went out of existence at the very moment their civilization culminated. Of the builders of the strange pre-historic walls that are found scattered all the way from Syria to Spain, we know little or nothing, except the reason of their sudden extinction as a race. The race that made the sculptures on the ruined palaces and temples of Central America was doomed to become suddenly extinct, like the flame of a candle that is blown out: the sculptures themselves were foregoing exponents of the result. But it is not in the destiny of the Yankee race, transformed as it has been by Christianity, to *thus die out*. The great curse of the present day, the

cause of almost all the evils that afflict us, is the continually increasing absence of religion. In Christianity.—and not, as Dr. Clarke affirms, in physiological development—“lies the hope of the race.” Woman shall not live by bread alone. The women are asking for the bread of life; and Dr. Clarke offers them something, which, to the great majority of them, is an inadequate and useless physiological stone. He counsels them to do reflectively, and with intention, what the animal women of Asia do unthinkingly, and from mere nature. In this, he says, “lies the hope of the race.” It is written of Moses and the children of Israel, when they knew not what to do, because of the chariots of the Egyptians who were pursuing them, that “The Lord said unto Moses, Wherefore criest thou unto me? speak unto the children of Israel, that they *go forward!*” The American women cannot go backward: let them, therefore, *go forward.* Where? Into what? Who knows? When St. Peter cast his net in the sea to fetch up what he might, he caught fish that were individually unknown to him, since he had never seen them before. The World-Sphinx crouches now, where she has crouched from the beginning, on the exact verge of the dark unknown, suckling her twin dusky cubs,—Nature and Man. Neither men nor women are competent to forecast the human forces, substantial forms, and fatalities of the future. But the Man-cub is foredoomed to grow, from generation to generation: it is Nature only that remains unprogressive.

We have now said all that we have to say on the *introductory part of Dr. Clarke's book*, and see no

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reason why we should read the remainder of the work. But we say to the women, "Don't get mad (it will be of no use), but *read every word of the book.* Dr. Clarke means well, and, as he goes on, will have less and less occasion to digress into metaphysics, and into the treatment of social questions. If you do not take care of your bodies, you may become unable to provide for your own wants, or to vindicate your personalities, and your individual sovereignty over yourselves. Be careful, however, not to know too much physiology. Keep the books of physiology, except the more decent of them, like this one of Dr. Clarke's, out of your schools ; and, above all, never permit your girl-scholars to get a sight of the damnable pictures with which they are usually illustrated. Such pictures will do the girls no good."

And now, in conclusion, we venture to indulge the hope that what we have said may meet with the approval of the pale, intellectual ladies — themselves healthy mothers of healthy children, and of children having the true enduring nerve in them — who placed Dr. Clarke's book in our hand, with the request that we should express an opinion *about* it.

LETTER  
TO THE  
REV. HENRY W. FOOTE,  
MINISTER OF KING'S CHAPEL.



## L E T T E R.

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BOSTON, MASS., April 2, 1873.

TO THE REV. H. W. FOOTE, Minister of King's Chapel, Boston.

*Respected Sir*,—A lady just now left with me, in the expectation that I would give her my opinion about it, a copy of your sermon on “Personal Responsibility for Public Honesty.” I take the liberty to express that opinion under the form of a letter to yourself. I have heard of your entire sincerity. I am confident that you intend to speak the words of truth and soberness. I am also, in the main, of your way of thinking upon matters theological; and for that reason, as well as for the others mentioned, I have the less hesitation in addressing you.

You say (p. 14), “The honest price of riches, ever since the beginning of human society, has been *work*, self-denial, intelligence,” &c. You begin very far back; but can you think of any special instance in point? The patriarch Jacob became rich through the blessing of the Almighty, not by work. The methods employed by him to increase his flocks and herds, at the expense of his father-in-law, were not those you specify. To-day men get rich, not by work, but by interest on money, the accumulation of rents and

dividends, and the like ; or by the rise in the value of real estate, monopolizing to themselves the profits that belong, not to themselves, but to whole neighborhoods ; and so on. The average bankrupt, in trying to stave off bankruptcy, often does more work in a few months than the average successful business-man does in his whole life. It is not strictly true that the average honest Boston man who has attained, at the age of fifty years, to live in a house rentable at from five to ten thousand dollars, has done ten times as much work as the average honest Boston man, of the same age, who is glad to put up with a house rentable at from five hundred to a thousand dollars, or any more work at all. There is often more labor, anxiety, and real genius, required to carry on a small retail business, with insufficient capital and small profits, than is called for to carry on a large wholesale business on the wharves, with ample capital and large profits. And whoever has acquired an ample capital, has acquired it, not by work, but by some other process. If the capital has been acquired honestly (say, by inheritance, gifts, profits on inventions and improvements, and the like), it was acquired by the blessing of God, which is not exactly work ; or, more probably, it was acquired by sheer luck, which is the blessing of the prince of the powers of the air. The New Testament, unlike the Old one, has no good word for the rich, and, like the Old Testament, abounds with good words for the poor. The distinction you draw between the meritorious rich and the unworthy rich will not hold as you state it, because it is shut out by the *Scriptures of the new dispensation.* If, in any of the

sayings of Jesus that are recorded, there is one word of blessing for the deserving and praiseworthy rich who have acquired their property by work, intelligence, industry, wise prudence, perseverance, strict application, and the like, it would be well to give the chapter and verse of the text.

The following passages may, perhaps, be in point :—

“Jesus lifted up his eyes on his disciples, and said, Blessed be ye poor ; for yours is the kingdom of God.”—*Luke vi. 20.*  
 “Woe unto you that are rich ! for ye have received your consolation.”—*Luke vi. 24.* “Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things ; but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented.”—*Luke xvi. 25.* “Do not rich men oppress you, and draw you before the judgment-seats ? Do they not blaspheme that worthy name by the which ye are called ?”—*James ii. 6, 7.* “If there come unto your assembly a man with a gold ring, in goodly apparel, and there come in also a poor man in vile raiment, and ye have respect to him that weareth the gay clothing, and say unto him, Sit thou here in a good place, and say to the poor, Stand thou there, or sit here under my footstool, are ye not partial in yourselves, and become judges of evil thoughts ?”—*James ii. 2-4.*

If there are passages of the New Testament praising the rich for the work performed by them in accumulating their property, or for their generosity in contributing large sums to benevolent objects, or for the public spirit they show in heading subscription-papers, or for lending their influence to beneficent enterprises, and promising blessings to them on those accounts, the passages can be cited. Chapter and verse can be given for the “widow’s mite.” And it was a thief, a professional enemy of property, and an

outcast from society, that led the way to the Celestial City ; going side by side through the gates of paradise, on the very day of the crucifixion, with the Grand-Master of the Ideal. The thieves and beggars found it easy to repent and be saved. But, of the men who are usually praised and cajoled in charity-sermons, Jesus said, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven." And Paul intimates that a man may give all his goods to feed the poor, and yet be utterly devoid of Christian charity. It may be that some members of your congregation, or of other congregations of the city of Boston, will say, "We spend the long hours of the day, and keep awake nights, scheming against the general circulating fund of the community, which is provided by the laboring poor out of their non-abundance ; and this anxiety and intellectual labor should be counted to us for meritorious toil." Such persons answer themselves.

What is it to be rich ? It is to have an assured income in excess of expenditures, and to have no occasion for anxiety for the morrow. It is to be above the necessity of living from hand to mouth. It is to be able (or to have grounds to insanely suppose one's self to be able) to live outside of God's providence. The religion you preach teaches us to take no thought for the morrow, to have no anxiety about it, not because we have a barrel of flour and a barrel of pork in the cellar, and coal for the season laid in, with the house-rent paid in advance, or because we have a deposit in the bank sufficient to pay for all these things, but because we have sought, first of all, for

"God's kingdom and its justice," knowing that the things which the children of this world seek after, will be "added unto us."

I am not finding fault here with the amount of your salary, which is more than two dollars and a half a day,—the average wages of a well-skilled, hard-working mechanic. I know not what your salary may be; I have made no inquiries about it: but I am convinced that your people, if they should pay you twice as much as they do now, would not pay you as much as you deserve from them. I am having here no recourse to personalities, although personalities will immediately suggest themselves to such of my readers as are perverse in their own thoughts. The promises of the kingdom are, not straitened circumstances, but abundance in this world and in the world to come. Again, you are not a man to say to me, although you might be justified in saying it, "*Tu quoque* :" you are better than that. But, if you were such a man, I should answer you, first, that I know it; and secondly, in the words of Paul, "We are all concluded under sin;" and finally, by saying, "Let God be true, though every man prove a liar." Your remarks on private responsibility for public honesty are obviously correct: only your criticisms cut more deeply and much more closely than you seem to suppose. From the beginning of the late war, private business, if on any large scale, has been generally conducted, and private fortunes have been generally made, and mainly by the better class of business-people (the especial men of great moral ideas, and by others according to their chances), on *the principles and by the methods you condemn.*

The tariff laws, the banking laws, and all the other federal laws affecting private business, are engines for swindling. What was once called stealing, and afterwards irregularity, is now called inadvertency. It was the indignation of the farmers, mechanics, and professional men, not that of the business community, which fell hot on the crédit mobilier people. The business community remained unmoved, knowing the whole thing to be in strict accordance with the received customs of trade. You attack, in your sermon, the progressive spirit of the nineteenth century; you attack the average business-man and church-member of America, the typical man of the middling class, who is no worse, and no better, than the average business-man and church-member of England or of France. Ever since the beginning of the war, the prostitution of political power and influence for private gain has been the normal characteristic of regular business. The official legislatures are no worse, and no better, than the unofficial pressures that are exerted on them; and no man can decide accurately between the office-holder and his constituent, to say which is thief, and which receiver of stolen goods. The private morality of the business community is no better than the public morality of the politicians; and it is futile to make either responsible for the other.

JESUS AND THE APOSTLES NOWHERE SPEAK OF WEALTH AS A THING TO BE PRAYED FOR. They nowhere characterize wealth as a blessing, or the accumulation of it, by enterprise and industry, as *praiseworthy*. The new dispensation nowhere prom-

ises either riches or long life to the righteous : it promises *eternal* life, and treasures in heaven. The "poverty" which Jesus calls "blessed" consists, not in penury and the lack of the necessaries of life, but in abundance or non-abundance, with a knowledge that the abundance, if there be abundance, is the gratuitous gift of God ; and also the knowledge, if there be non-abundance, that "whom *the Lord loveth he chasteneth.*" It was Mary that Jesus praised, not Martha ; although Martha was a woman after the pattern of your sermon. Jesus says, "There is no man who hath left house, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, *who shall not receive manifold more in this present time,* and, in the world to come, life everlasting." This promise is not made to such as are enterprising, persevering, and industrious in their business, but to such as enlist as soldiers of the kingdom. The divinely-sanctioned formula is, "Give us *this day our daily bread,*" not give us property yielding rents, interest, and dividends, both now and in the indefinite future. It is for this reason that they who live from hand to mouth are nearer than other men — according to the Oriental, not to the New-England morality — to the kingdom of heaven.

You repeat on the same fourteenth page of your sermon, and after the summary manner of an executioner,—of course innocently,—the calumnies of two of the Boston daily newspapers against the working-women. Were it not for your one sentence about the working-women, I should not have felt myself called on to write *this* letter. The ladies of wealth and

culture who furnished the materials for the calumnious paragraphs of those two papers, have wantonly done much to establish between themselves and women who felt kindly to them the great gulf which Abraham describes in Luke xvi. 26. I desire to be not deficient in the spirit of charity; but it certainly appeared to me, when I read the anonymous communications of those ladies to the newspapers a couple of years or so ago, and some of their signed communications, that I recognized in them a spirit of mistaken self-importance, and of conceited and contemptuous ignorance, mixed with that lust of domination and sovereignty which Swedenborg and other spiritual writers characterize as the efficacious centre and constituent root of the infernal pit. These ladies did not reflect that they also, as well as the over-proud servant-girls, appear, in the light of heaven, as mere filthy rags. In a few years, each of these women will have a home dug for her, be she mistress or servant, six feet due east and west, and six feet perpendicular; and, at the final examination in the great day of judgment, the elimination of social distinction will very much simplify results. Naked both mistress and servant-girl came into the world; and if they win to themselves in this world of probation no wedding-garment, no robe of righteousness, no cloak of charity, they are liable to appear naked before the great white throne. The French duchess was mistaken when she supposed that persons of her quality are not as much susceptible of damnation as other people are. Orgagna's wonderful picture in the Campo Santo at Pisa — *perhaps the clearest authority we have on these*

matters — presents, in the lower left-hand corner, a dead empress and a dead princess, both of them naked and in torment. I am confident, if you will examine the working-woman question yourself, taking your facts at first-hand, and not from the ladies who write for the newspapers, that you will never again preach as you have done on the fourteenth page of the discourse which has been left with me.

I once had occasion to visit, on special business and invitation, a tailoresses' union of several hundred members sitting in secret session, with their doors locked. I was admitted to the meeting in the company of two ladies who held large amounts of property in their own right; and was the only male person present. I had heard of the false pride of these women; and therefore, without letting them know what I was about, noted such of the members of the society as appeared to be physically competent to do housework. Upon private inquiry, the officers of the union told me, and the other women also told me, mentioning some of the members by name, that every woman present, competent to do housework, had been out at service, and was ready to go out again whenever she could earn more wages as a servant than she could earn at her trade. There were, of course, a few exceptions, of women who had good homes with their relatives, and were above the necessity of working at all for other people. These women were, all of them, skilled tailoresses, earning, on the average, a dollar and a half a day. This fact throws some light on the state of feeling of the skilled working-women. Now, *it must be borne in mind*, that for every one well-

skilled tailoress, mantua-maker, milliner, or the like, earning, on the average, a dollar and a half a day, there are four or five, or more, less-skilled (many of them unskilled and unclassed) working-women, who work, not for a dollar and a half a day, but for from thirty to fifty cents a day, and who cover, with a pretence of pride, their mortification at the consciousness of their own incompetency. You will permit me to harbor, after a reading of your discourse, the suspicion, that you may never have thought seriously of the difficulty the girls find in making a satisfactory distribution of their fifty cents a day,—appropriating so much for breakfast, so much for dinner, so much for supper, so much for clothes, so much for lodging, so much for washing, and laying aside so much to pay for a seat in the church, and so much for charity: for these girls are as generous to each other, according to their means, as the ladies are; perhaps more so. Have you ever really thought of the smallness of the amount available for each item? These girls expend more genius in keeping the breath of life in their thin bodies, and in keeping out of the poorhouse,—more patience, more perseverance, more self-denial,—than any merchant or financier in State Street has any call to use in his extensive business. Such of them as hold fast to their religion—Catholic, Protestant, or other—are very near to the kingdom of heaven.

The girls you speak of, who are in want, and yet affect to be too proud to be servants, would show themselves humble enough if they thought they could possibly, by any effort of theirs, give satisfaction to a just and considerate mistress. They know

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themselves to be incompetent, and that none but the worst and most dangerous mistresses could make any profit on their work. The world is not now as it was in the days of our grandmothers. It is seldom that a lady of the period consents to feed, clothe, lodge, and break in, unpresentable, crockery-breaking, message-marrying, blundering, and ignorant girls, doing the greater part of the housework herself, and teaching the girls with the care and patience which carpenters and blacksmiths bestow on their apprentices. Ladies of good station, if themselves not skilled mistresses, require very competent servants ; and it is no matter for wonder, therefore, that, in looking round for a girl, they look for one competent to be herself a mistress, and willing, for wages, to render the work of a supervising mistress superfluous. The apprenticeship of a servant-girl is harder, longer, and more expensive, than that of almost any other skilled working-woman ; and good opportunities for learning the trade are comparatively rare. Moreover, the girl, if of the better class, and American, never forgets that she comes from a respectable Protestant stock, which she knows all about, if no one else does ; and, if Catholic, she never waits cheerfully upon any table where the guests contemptuously forget her presence, and wantonly insult her religion or her nationality. As for these poorer girls, you seldom see them : they are kept close by their work all day ; and they avoid the well-frequented streets, because they have no comely clothes to wear. There are two sides to the servant-girl question. Some persons who have examined the *matter from the side of the mistresses*, as I have ex-

amined it from the side of the girls, report that much fretfulness, wanton meddlesomeness, incompetency, ignorance, caprice, overbearing temper, nervousness, lack of system, lack of justice, lack of common consideration, and the like, exists on the part of the mistresses ; and that many of the mistresses are physically as much broken down, and consequently as querulous and unreasonable, as the most lame-backed of the girls are. But of this I have no personal knowledge ; and you are probably a better judge on that side than I am.

I am confident that you have in your congregation women better than those who write calumnies for the newspapers,— God-fearing women, who, although rich in this world's goods, are waiting for the kingdom ; and who think mercifully of their less fortunate sisters, and will try to do for them, or at least feel for them, as is right. There is, however, very little that your ladies can do ; for the evil is organic, and not to be cured by individual efforts. Nevertheless, the guide-board to the kingdom has written on it, “ Be just to the poor and to the outcast.” — See Matt. xxv. 34–45, especially the 40th and the 45th verses.

If you yourself, or any member of the Boston Association of Ministers, will answer this letter, and refute it, showing that Christianity is other than I have said, and that it is identical with the religion preached in the ordinary charity-sermons, where the rich are called on “ to come up ” with heavy subscriptions “ to the help of the Lord against the mighty,” a grievous wound will be given to the labor-reform leagues, to the trades-unions, and even to the great International Association itself.

Without a fair and candid investigation, beforehand, of the facts and principles involved, each side listening to the other's arguments, it will be impossible to discount the coming tempest, or to stave off the impending Social Revolution.

Yours respectfully,

Wm. B. GREENE,

*Chairman of the Exec. Com. of the Labor-Reform League.*



## N O T E S.

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### EXTRACT FROM MR. FOOTE'S SERMON.

"I think that no cool observer of our modern society, who keeps his own head, and simply puts causes and effects together in his mind, can doubt for a moment that the greatest danger to modern society, and pre-eminently so in America, is from the money-getting fever. This is the epidemic, which is in the very air of the time. I do not mean the desire and faculty of creating property: that is an instinct of human nature, and is one of the chief means by which the higher civilization is advanced. It has its temptations and its dangers, which we may well ponder at some other time; but the spirit with which we now have to do differs from this, which may be called *healthy accumulativeness*, as a feverish patient, flushed and parched, differs from a sound man with cool and orderly pulses. It is the eagerness to be rich without paying the honest price of riches. That price, ever since the beginning of human society, has been *work*, self-denial, intelligence, patience, thirst,—qualities which belong to the higher part of man's nature, which enter into the very texture of his soul, and which are systematically trained by the slow processes of honest toil, and in the accredited ways of legitimate trade which the world requires, and which help to bind it together in peaceful bonds. Do I err in saying that there is diffused abroad in the community a wide impatience of this plodding way of gain? It is shown by the refusal of such numbers of needy women to learn the respectable methods of self-support in household service; it is shown by the unwillingness of young men to begin lower down than the very top of the ladder; and, more directly, in the excited striving after, or, at any rate, dreaming of, successes of change or mere speculation, which are, after all, only a more respectable kind of lottery. I am speaking to you of matters which you know infinitely more about than I do: but I have lived long enough to see gray-haired men throw away the good repute of a lifetime in that mad chase after the will-o'-the-wisp which dances over bottomless sloughs; to see men sell their friendships and their honor and their peace for success in cheating themselves into a fortune, and, more often than not, find the fortune turn to ashes in their grasp. And then an incentive to this spirit is in the

extravagant habits of the time. Those of us who look only ten years back know in part — those who look back twenty and thirty years know far better — how deeply the spending and showy customs of the time have altered. It has come to be a race in mere outside emulations, rivalry in houses, in clothes, in the table, with the inevitable result of a social depreciation of those who practise simpler and more frugal ways of living."

#### HENRI DE ST. SIMON'S PARABLE.

"Suppose that France loses, all of them in a single day, her fifty best chemists, her fifty best physiologists, her fifty best mathematicians, her fifty best poets, her fifty best writers on political and economical subjects, an equal number, for each specialty, of her best painters, sculptors, composers of music, machinists, civil and military engineers, artillerists, architects, physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and bankers, her two hundred best merchants engaged in foreign trade, her six hundred best agriculturists, her fifty best iron and brass founders, and as many, for each specialty, among her manufacturers of cotton, silk, crockery, porcelain, and glass-ware, her fifty best masters of transportation, her fifty best printers, and a like number of the most eminent men of each trade among her engravers, goldsmiths, masons, carpenters, cabinet-makers, blacksmiths, locksmiths, and typefounders, also a proportionate number of other persons eminent in useful occupations not here mentioned, including, in all, three thousand men who are the most competent in learning, science, art, commerce, and the mechanical trades, that France can furnish.

"France would lose the most productive of her citizens, the creators of the most important of her products, the directors of the labor that is most useful to the nation : she would lose the very blossom and flower of her population. . . .

"The moment that France should lose these three thousand men, she would become a body without a soul, falling at once into a position of inferiority in respect to the nations of which to-day she is the rival. To recover her present position, she would be obliged to recover from this loss of her three thousand most eminent citizens. And she could not repair the loss in a whole generation : for men distinguished in labors of positive utility are true anomalies ; and Nature is not lavish of anomalies, especially of this kind.

"Let us make another supposition. Grant that France retains all the men, prominent in art, science, and industry, that she now possesses,

but that she has the misfortune to lose, all in a single day, Monsieur the brother of the king, My Lord the Duke of Angoulême, My Lord the Duke of Berry, My Lord the Duke of Orléans, My Lord the Duke of Bourbon, Mesdames the Duchess of Angoulême, the Duchess of Berry, the Duchess of Orléans, the Duchess of Bourbon, and Mademoiselle de Condé; that she also loses, at the same time, all the great officers of the crown, all the cabinet-ministers, all the marshals of France, all the cardinals and archbishops, all the judges of the courts, and, over and above all these, the ten thousand other French subjects who live the most sumptuously on their revenues.

"The French people would, without doubt, be overwhelmed with grief; because the French are good-hearted, and could not see with indifference the sudden disappearance of so great a number of Frenchmen and Frenchwomen. But the loss of all these individuals, reputed to be the most important to the State, would occasion a grief that would be sentimental only; for from the loss there would be no real evil to be apprehended.

"First, because it would be easy to fill the places vacated. There are many Frenchmen competent to perform the duties of brother of the king as satisfactorily as Monsieur now performs them. There are still other Frenchmen as capable of exercising the princely function as My Lord the Duke of Angoulême, or My Lord the Duke of Orléans, or My Lord the Duke of Bourbon; and many Frenchwomen would make as good princesses as Madame the Duchess of Orléans, or Madame the Duchess of Berry, or Madame the Duchess of Angoulême, or Mademoiselle de Condé.

"The antechambers of the palace are full of courtiers ready to fill the places of the great officers of the crown. The army abounds with military men competent to make as good captains as our present marshals. There are many clerks in the departments who are altogether superior to our present cabinet-ministers.

"There is no lack of lawyers who could do better than our present judges. There are parish-curates in great number, perfectly capable of performing the duties of our present cardinals and archbishops. As for the ten thousand wealthy persons living on their revenues, their heirs would be able, without apprenticeship, to do the honors of their parlors quite as well as they are done now.

"The French people have established as a fundamental principle, that the poor ought to be generous to the rich; and, consequently, they who are in the most straitened circumstances deprive themselves of a part of the necessaries of life in order to augment the superfluity of those who are at ease.

"Exceptional scoundrels, thieves on a large scale, who squeeze the totality of citizens, and rob them of millions yearly, have the mission given them to punish petty offences against society.

"Ignorance and laziness, with the taste for expensive pleasures, characterize the supreme chiefs of society; and capable, economical, laborious persons are seldom or never employed in public office, except in subordinate positions, or as instruments.

"In short, incapable men have the charge and direction of capable persons; the most immoral men are called upon to conduct citizens in the paths of virtue; and the most patent knaves are set to punish small delinquents."

#### M. DE CASSAGNAC ON THE PROLETARIAT.

"We will not waste our time," says M. de Cassagnac, "in considering the sense which the word 'proletary' derives from its Latin etymology. *Proletarius* denoted something appropriate to the particular constitution of Rome. The word 'proletary' denotes, in our ideas, something which is common to all societies. Thus there are, for example, among all the modern nations of Europe, and there were among all the ancient nations of Europe, certain families and individuals forming the basest portion, the lowest stratum, of society. Ordinarily, these families and individuals live by the painful and daily labor of their hands. The wages of the day is all they can count upon for the morrow; and landed property, if they ever obtain it, is for them much less the rule than the exception. These men, who are not landed proprietors, who have never been landed proprietors, to whom we dare not promise that they ever will be,—these poor, obscure men, without fortune transmitted from father to son, and for whom all domestic traditions are reduced to the permanent necessity of earning daily their daily bread,—these men are the *proletaries*; and the condition to which they belong is the *proletariat*. This being stated, let us see what the proletariat contains: 1st, laborers; 2d, beggars; 3d, thieves; 4th, prostitutes. For a working-man is a proletary who labors, and lives on his wages. A beggar is a proletary who either can not or will not work, and who begs for a living. A thief is a proletary who will neither work nor beg, and who steals for a living. A woman on the town is a proletary who will neither work, beg, nor steal, and who prostitutes herself for a living. The absence of all acquired property, of all fortune saved up, is therefore, as we have said, that which constitutes the proletariat; and the necessity *which persons are under, when they possess nothing but natural bodies.*

either to work, to beg, to steal, or to prostitute themselves, for a living, naturally divides the proletaries into four great classes, which are those we have stated, — classes in which they are distributed according to their education, their character, their physical and moral force; according to the particular condition of the families to which they belong; according to the general conditions of the society which surrounds them; sometimes according to their faults, sometimes according to the faults of others; often according to chance."

It is true that the proletariat includes the working-people and the beggars; but has it, as M. de Cassagnac implies, any thing like a monopoly of the thieves and prostitutes? The insult is ungrounded and uncalled for.

**EXTRACTS FROM TWO PAMPHLETS PUBLISHED, ONE IN 1849 ON  
EQUALITY, AND THE OTHER IN 1850 ON THE NATURE  
OF THE CURRENCY.**

"Few persons are aware of the power of capital in this Commonwealth. According to a pamphlet quoted by Mr. Kellogg, containing a list of the wealthy men of Boston, and an estimate of the value of their property, there are 224 individuals in this city who are worth, in the aggregate, \$71,855,000: the average wealth of these individuals would be \$321,781. In this pamphlet, no estimate is made of the wealth of any individual whose property is supposed to amount to less than \$100,000. Let us be moderate, and suppose that there are, in all the towns and counties in the State (including Boston), 3,000 other individuals who are worth \$30,000 each: their aggregate wealth would amount to \$90,000,000. Add this to the \$71,855,000 owned by the 224 men, and we have \$161,855,000. These figures are more or less incorrect; but they give the nearest approximation to the truth that we can obtain at the present time. The assessors' valuation of the property in the State of Massachusetts in 1840\* was \$299,880,338. We find, therefore, by the above estimates, that 3,224 individuals own more than half of all the property in the State. If we suppose each of these 3,224 persons to be the head of a family of five persons, we shall have, in all, 16,120 individuals. In 1840, the State contained a population of 737,700. Thus 16,120 persons own more property than the remaining 721,580; that is, *three persons out of every hundred own more than the remaining ninety-seven.*

\* "This was written before the valuation for 1850 was taken. As the question is one of principles rather than of figures, we have not conceived it necessary to rewrite the paragraph."

"Let us explain the difference between legal value and actual value. It is evident, that, if every bank-bill in the country should suddenly be destroyed, no actual value would be destroyed, except, perhaps, to the extent of the value of so much waste paper. The holders of the bills would lose their money ; but the banks would gain the same amount, because they would no longer be liable to be called upon to redeem their bills in specie. *Legal value is the legal claim which one man has upon property in the possession of another.* No matter how much legal value you destroy : you cannot by that process banish a single dollar's worth of actual value, though you may do a great injustice to individuals. But, if you destroy the silver dollars in the banks, you inflict a great loss on the community ; for an importation of specie would have to be made to meet the exigencies of the currency, and this importation would have to be paid for in goods and commodities which are of actual value. When a ship goes down at sea with her cargo on board, so much actual value is lost. But, on the other hand, when an owner loses his ship in some unfortunate speculation, so that the ownership passes from his hands into the hands of some other person, there may be no loss of actual value as in the case of shipwreck ; for the loss may be a mere change of ownership.

"The national debt of England exceeds \$4,000,000,000. If there were enough gold sovereigns in the world to pay this debt, and these sovereigns should be laid beside each other, touching each other, and in a straight line, the line thus formed would be much more than long enough to furnish a belt of gold extending round the earth. Yet all this debt is mere legal value. If all the obligations by which this debt is held were destroyed, the holders of the debt would become poorer by the amount of legal value destroyed ; but those who are bound by the obligations (the tax-paying people of England) would gain to the same amount. Destroy all this legal value, and England would be as rich after the destruction as it was before, because no actual value would have been affected. The destruction of the legal value would merely cause a vast change in the ownership of property ; making some classes richer, and, of course, others poorer to precisely the same extent : but, if you should destroy actual value to the amount of this debt, you would destroy about thirteen times as much actual value (machinery, houses, improvements, products, &c.) as exists at present in the State of Massachusetts. The sudden destruction of \$4,000,000,000 worth of actual value would turn the British islands into a desert.

"But let us bring the matter nearer home. The assessors' valuation of the property in the State of Massachusetts, in 1790, was \$44,024,-

349. In 1840 it was \$230,880,338. The increase, therefore, during fifty years, was \$255,855,989. This is the increase of actual value. If, now, the \$44,024,349, which the State possessed in 1790, had been owned by a class, and had been loaned to the community on six-months' notes, regularly renewed, at six per cent interest per annum, and the interest, as it fell due, had itself been continually put out at interest on the same terms, that accumulated interest would have amounted in fifty years to \$885,524,246. This is the increase of the legal value. *A simple comparison will show us that the legal value would have increased three times as fast as the actual value has increased.*

" Suppose 5,000 men to own \$30,000 each. Suppose these men to move with their families to some desolate place in the State where there is no opportunity for the profitable pursuit of the occupations either of commerce, agriculture, or manufacturing. The united capital of these 5,000 men would be \$150,000,000. Suppose, now, this capital to be safely invested in different parts of the State. Suppose these men to be heads of families comprising, on an average, five persons each: this would give us, in all, 25,000 individuals. A servant to each family would give us 5,000 persons more; and these, added to the above number, would give us 30,000 in all. Suppose, now, that 5,000 mechanics — shoemakers, bakers, butchers, &c. — should settle with their families in the neighborhood of these capitalists, in order to avail themselves of their custom. Allowing five to a family, as before, we have 25,000 to add to the above number. We have therefore, in all, a city of 55,000 individuals, established in the most desolate part of the State. The people in the rest of the State would have to pay to the capitalists of this city six per cent on \$150,000,000 every year; for these capitalists have, by the supposition, this amount out at interest on bond and mortgage, or otherwise. The yearly interest on \$150,000,000, at six per cent, is \$9,000,000. These wealthy individuals may do no useful work whatever, and, nevertheless, they levy a tax of \$9,000,000 per annum on the industry of the State. The tax would be paid in this way: Some money would be brought to the new city, and much produce; the produce would be sold for money to the capitalists; and with the money thus obtained, added to the other, the debtors would pay the interest due. The capitalists would have their choice of the best the State produces; and the mechanics of the city, who receive money from the capitalists, the next choice. Now, how would all this be looked upon by the people of the Commonwealth? *There would be a general rejoicing over the excellent market for produce which had grown up in so unexpected a place, and the people would suppose the existence of this city of financial horse-leeches to be one of the main pillars of the prosperity of the State.*

" Each of these capitalists would receive yearly \$1,800, the interest on \$30,000, on which to live. Suppose he lives on \$900, the half of his income, and lays the other half by to portion off his children as they come to marriageable age, that they may start also with \$30,000 capital as he did.\* This \$900 which he lays by every year would have to be invested. The men of business, the men of talent, in the State, would see it well invested for him. Some intelligent man would discover that a new railroad, canal, or other public work, was needed: he would survey the ground, draw a plan of the work, and make an estimate of the expenses; then he would go to this new city, and interest the capitalists in the matter. The capitalists would furnish money; the people of the State would furnish labor: the people would dig the dirt, hew the wood, and draw the water. The intelligent man who devised the plan would receive a salary for superintending the work, the people would receive day's wages, and the capitalists would own the whole; for did they not furnish the money that paid for the construction? Taking a scientific view of the matter, we may suppose the capitalists not to work at all; for the mere fact of their controlling the money would insure all these results. We suppose them, therefore, not to work at all; we suppose them to receive, each of them, \$1,800 a year; we suppose them to live on one-half of this, or \$900, and to lay up the other half for their children. We suppose new-married couples to spring up, in their proper season, out of these families; and that these new couples start also each with a capital of \$30,000. We ask, now, is there no danger of this new city's absorbing, into itself the greater portion of the wealth of the State?

" There is no city in this Commonwealth that comes fully up to this ideal of a *faineant* and parasite city; but there is no city in the State in which this ideal is not more or less completely embodied.

" Suppose, when Virginia was settled in 1607, England had sold the whole territory of the United States to the first settlers for \$1,000, and had taken a mortgage for this sum on the whole property: \$1,000 at seven per cent per annum, on half-yearly notes, the interest collected and reloaned as it fell due, would amount, in the interval between 1607 and 1850, to \$16,777,216,000. All the property in the United States, several times told, would not pay this debt.

Stat: "From the Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor:—  
worth Skilled laborers, average yearly earnings per man, \$536.52.

" But <sup>age</sup> skilled laborers, average yearly earnings per man, \$433.90.  
of the property, cost of living, derived almost wholly from statements from the  
workmen, \$697.78." — *Boston Trades Journal*, March 15, 1873.

"If the reader is interested in this matter of the comparative rate of increase of actual and legal value, let him consult the treatise of Edward Kellogg on 'Labor and other Capital,' where he will find abundant information on all these points."

The anti-Christian EXISTING CIVILIZATION, grounded as it is in usury and speculative profits,—that is to say, in the exploitation of man by man,—is doomed; for, when it destroyed the ownership of man in man (or direct slavery), it stultified itself, and rendered itself logically impossible. It is destined, therefore, "to die, and not live." The sentence has gone forth against it: "**THOU SHALT SURELY DIE!**"

#### CONCLUSION.

The following is submitted without note or comment:—

*"To the Honorable the Senate and the House of Representatives of Massachusetts in General Court assembled:—*

"We the undersigned, representing the New-England Labor-Reform League, respectfully state that a petition was submitted to the General Court, towards the beginning of the present session, in behalf of the New-England Labor-Reform League, praying for a repeal of laws now on the statute-book (General Statutes, ch. 162, sects. 18, 19 and 20) which have outlived their usefulness, and now work to trammel the legitimate circulation of business-paper, and to secure a monopoly of the circulating medium in the interest of privilege.

"The petition was presented to the House by Mr. Fitzgerald of Boston, and was referred to the Joint Committee on Banks and Banking. We are informed that the chairman of that committee is the president of a national bank, having, as such, a private interest hostile to the prayer of the petitioners. We are also informed that another of the members of the committee is president of another bank, and that another member is cashier of a bank: how many members are directors or stockholders of banks, we know not. The committee—without giving the petitioners a hearing, although one had been asked for—made a report to the Senate, granting the petitioners leave to withdraw; which report was accepted by the Senate.

"We therefore, in view of these facts (if they are facts), respectfully request your honorable body to reconsider the vote granting the petitioners leave to withdraw,—in the case that the report made to the Senate has been accepted by the House also; or, in the case that the

petition is still in the possession of the House, we respectfully request that it may be referred to an impartial committee. We respectfully request, in any event, that your petitioners may have a fair hearing before some committee of your honorable body, before their petition is definitively rejected.

"PRINCETON, MASS., April 6, 1873.

JOHN ORVIS,  
*President N. E. Labor-Reform League.*

WM. B. GREENE,  
*Vice-President N. E. Labor-Reform League.*

WM. B. WRIGHT,  
E. H. HEYWOOD,  
*Secretaries N. E. Labor-Reform League.*

"I presented this paper to Mr. J. E. Fitzgerald of Boston, and requested him to present it to the House. He declined doing so, for the following reasons: 1st, That it was too late; 2d, That it contained a fling against certain members of the Legislature; and 3d, That it would be a great deal of trouble to obtain a reconsideration of the vote, inasmuch as it required a four-fifths vote.

BENJ. R. TUCKER.  
*Treasurer N. E. Labor-Reform League.*

**THE**

**SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE.**



## THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE.

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THE word "authority" occurs in the Constitution of the United States five times: the word "sovereignty" occurs in it not once.

The Constitution of Massachusetts says expressly,

"The people inhabiting the territory formerly called the Province of Massachusetts Bay do hereby solemnly and mutually agree with each other to form themselves into a *free*, SOVEREIGN, and *independent* body-politic, or State, by the name of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts."

And again :

"The people of this Commonwealth have the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves, as a *free*, SOVEREIGN, and *independent* State; and do, and forever hereafter shall, exercise and enjoy every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not, or may not be hereafter, by them expressly delegated to the United States of America in Congress assembled."

Nevertheless, and as if to make manifest a want of foresight in the framers of her Constitution, the people of Massachusetts, in the exercise of their original sovereignty, expressly and subsequently delegated "powers, jurisdictions, and rights," not only to "the *United States in Congress assembled*," but also

to the United States as represented by the executive and judiciary departments of the existing Federal Government. We say nothing here of the Federal-Constitution-amending power, which is given, substantially, not to the Federal Government at all, but to three-fourths of the several States in their separate sovereign capacities.

Sovereignty is *possessed* by the United States ; and it is possessed also by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The Commonwealth may, for instance, in the exercise of its sovereign power, try, convict, and hang persons who commit murder within its territorial limits ; no throne, dominion, principality, or power, other than the State itself, having any thing to do or to say in the matter. And again, in like manner, the United States may, in the exercise of their sovereignty, independently of the will of all opposing human authorities whatsoever, and within the territorial limits of the sovereign States, try, convict, and hang pirates.

Sovereignty, as it exists in God, is simple and indivisible ; but, as it exists among men, it is multiple, and separable into parts. Human sovereignty is defined by its object, and by the sphere of its activity. It by no means follows, therefore, because Massachusetts has parted with the treaty-making power, because she cannot send ambassadors to foreign courts, or try pirates captured on the high seas, that she has parted with her sovereignty. There are many sovereign powers, other than that of hanging murderers, which the Commonwealth of Massachusetts has never yet surrendered.

The Sultan of Turkey shares the sovereignty of his empire with the religious power of the State ; and the *Sheik ul Islam* can dethrone him at any moment. The sovereignty of the Emperor of China is hedged in, confined, and limited by the national etiquette, which is insuperable. Neither the United States nor the Commonwealth of Massachusetts possess *absolute* sovereignty : no body-politic either does, ever did, or ever can possess absolute sovereignty.

When, where, and how did the sovereignty of the State of Massachusetts originate ? What was the process of its growth ?

Sovereignty is a fact, and not a moral maxim : in investigations respecting it, therefore, we must follow simple historical methods, and be careful not to lose ourselves in ethical speculations. We are informed by the records of the time, that, when the American Revolution broke out, the leaders of the movement at once shut up the court-houses, because the then acting judges administered justice in the name of the King of England. The administration of justice between man and man came therefore, of necessity, in Massachusetts, to be administered, in the early stages of the Revolution, by self-constituted authorities. Insurrectionary committees organized themselves spontaneously to meet the want occasioned by the sudden collapsing of the legal government of the province. Self-constituted authorities took control of the towns and counties, raised troops and money, and entered into correspondence with each other. In what other rut could the Revolution have possibly run ? The question was one of violent transforma-

tion, not one of peaceful evolution. The Revolutionary Government suppressed the Royal Government as such, and, in the nature of things, could derive no authority from it : neither did the Revolution derive original authority from a vote of the people, since the people were not regularly consulted respecting it, until after it had become a fixed fact. Besides, the machinery for taking the vote of the people was not, at the time, in working order. *The sovereignty of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts had its birth in the just and necessary usurpations of the vigilance committees that initiated the American Revolution* : it derived its origin, not from the colonial power, nor from the charters of the English king, but from the inherent and spontaneous force of the armed insurrection. It was born and nursed in revolution. It was founded in might ; and it vindicated its existence by the persuasive eloquence of the naked sword. These facts are signified by the motto of the Commonwealth, *Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem* ; and also by the sword which is depicted over the State arms. The loyalists of the Revolution — many of them peaceable and law-loving inhabitants of the province — had the right to be tarred and feathered ; they had also the right to have their property confiscated, and to be themselves banished from the country : but they had few other rights which the patriotic portion of the community felt called upon to respect. No one thought of asking for their votes. We distort the fair proportions of history when we dress up our grandfathers in the costume of Arcadian *shepherds*, and forget the violence, new rum, and

exciting eloquence, by which the unanimity of Massachusetts opinion was brought about. A sergeant who for a long time commanded the guard at Washington's headquarters, and afterwards grew very old in meditating on the history of his country, told the writer of these pages that the independence of America would never have been achieved had there been no rum. Our informant did not wish to intimate that Washington drank rum: on the contrary, he affirmed that the Father of his Country had no noticeable vice, except the one of swearing like a trooper when suddenly irritated. The fact that our liberties were baptized in rum seems to be well attested; and yet it is seldom or never alluded to by our Fourth-of-July orators. American institutions, and the (so-called) modern reforms, flow from opposite and conflicting principles; and for this reason it is that these reforms are so often brought up, all standing, by the constitutions and laws of the country.

When the sovereignty of Massachusetts came to be sanctioned in a written Constitution, the instrument was submitted for approval, not to the natural people, but to the legal people, of the State; for the Constitution of the Commonwealth was adopted by the active and energetic "males" of twenty-one years of age and upwards, the vote of the women and children not being taken. The loyal element was also first eliminated from the population through the effects of war, banishments, confiscations, and terror; and the voting males saw to it that the word "male" was put in the Constitution as a restriction upon future voting. *Are not the women of Massachusetts people? Are*

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Government is no mere compact,—no mere legal instrument,—but a government proper, having direct relations with the individuals who compose the peoples of the several States. No sovereignty was granted by the several States to the United States and to the Federal Government; for sovereignty, which is self-derived by its nature, cannot be conveyed by grant. The States granted to the United States certain powers which carry with them the elements of *might*; and the United States, in the strength of these powers, *assumed* sovereignty; and the States conferred these powers upon the United States for the express purpose and in the full expectation that sovereignty would be *assumed* by the Federal Government. It is precisely because sovereignty cannot be granted, that the Constitution, which is mainly a grant of powers, makes no mention of sovereignty. *Sovereignty is* (under God, who is the sole fountain of might and dominion) *original, self-derived authority to decree, to judge, and to do.* Sovereignty, if not a self-asserting, self-sufficing, self-vindicating fact, is nothing.

In the United States, the legal people (as is, indeed, the case everywhere else) constitute the actual body-politic, or State, and hold the sovereignty. In America, as in France, the whole mass of the adult male citizens, with certain specified exceptions, are voters, and thus repositories of the sovereign power. In England, about one-seventh part only of the adult males are voters; that is to say, legal people. In some countries, the whole mass of the titled nobility *have a share in the sovereign power, and constitute*

the legal people. In other countries, the king and the peers of the realm constitute the legal people, the rest of the population having no voice in State affairs. In still other countries, the ruling despot constitutes, by himself alone, the governing power ; and, when he puts on his crown, the whole legal people is covered. Sovereignty is prevailing force, and subsists by divine (perhaps diabolical) right : it is violent, heroic, extra-human, inexplicable. *Sovereignty is self-derived authority.*

The sovereignty of the United States being in the hands of the federal legal people, and sovereignty consisting in original, efficacious ability to decree, to judge, and to execute, what guaranty had the legal peoples of the several States, beholding the rise and culmination of the federal sovereignty, that their own separate sovereignties would not be by it ultimately swallowed up ? A very simple one, but one that ought to be effectual ; which has been effectual hitherto, and which probably will be effectual for many generations. The Constitution requires, on the one hand, that

“The senators and representatives, whether of the Federal or of the State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers both of the United States and of the several States, *shall be bound by oath or affirmation* to support the Constitution of the United States.”

And, on the other hand, we find in the instrument to be thus supported the following express provision :—

“The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.”

It is not reasonable to suppose that the officials administering the three co-ordinate departments of the Federal Government will ever concur in simultaneously perjuring themselves. Men are no worse now than they always were: some of them are downright knaves; more of them are men of thorough and tried honesty; and the great majority are neither knaves nor honest men, but persons who respect integrity, and intend to do right whenever their private and family interests, ambitions, and necessities permit. In general, we may safely place confidence in the verdict of an ordinary man whose judgment is not warped by interest or ambition; and in four cases out of five, where men are called upon to act, in common as well as political life, their judgments are determined by considerations of the general welfare, because no others happen to be present to their minds. Other things being equal, all men are interested, and know themselves to be interested, in the supremacy of order and of right.

If the two houses of Congress, who have naturally the initiative of evil, allow themselves to be carried away by passion and excitement, so that they pass unwholesome laws, the President is impelled by natural pride of office, and a regard for his own historical record, to interpose his veto for the protection of the people.\* If the President catches the madness

\* The Constitution of the United States requires, that, "before he enter on the execution of his office, the President shall take the following oath or affirmation: I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States; *and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.*" Thus the President is especially set apart, in contradistinction from all other officers, *as the guardian and upholder of the Constitution of the United States.*

of the House and Senate, and makes common cause with them, or if Congress goes over his veto by a two-thirds vote, the Supreme Court stands in the way to correct the evil, if there be any; and it is not to be expected that the three departments of the federal sovereignty — the department which decrees, the department which judges, and the department which executes — will all go crazy at the same moment of time. Moreover, if the conduct of the Federal Government should become utterly reprehensible, the people may still fall back upon their State governments (which have the power, and generally the will, to stay acts of federal usurpation, and moderate their effects), and the root of the evil may be removed by a dismissal, at the next general election, in a regular and constitutional way, of the trespassing federal officers.

In theory, the government of a free people is not one which shall in all circumstances govern, but one that shall effectually govern while it is maintaining right against wrong, and shall begin to fall in pieces as soon as it begins to maintain wrong against right. No country is truly free whose constitution does not furnish the citizen with protection against the wrong-doing of other citizens, and also guarantee him against the wrong-doing of the government itself. No oppressor is so intolerable as an oppressive government; for the private oppressor acts with his own force only, while the governmental oppressor acts with the irresistible force of the whole people.

In the individual man, the three elements of sovereignty (*the practical and the higher reason, the*

will, and the conscience) are united in a single person; and it is for this reason that few individual men are competent to meet and resist temptations. But the Federal Government is especially organized to meet and to outlive great crises, the three elements of its sovereignty being lodged in separate and independent bodies, and administered by different persons. Thus the Federal Government is rendered weak to do wrong, and powerful to do right: for, as soon as it begins to go wrong, it naturally begins to be divided against itself, and the three great wheels of its machinery exhaust their momentum, or wear each other out, in their friction against each other; while, as soon as it begins to go right, all the parts work harmoniously, and exhaust their full strength on the object of their action. No country is securely free if its governmental machine is not so organized that it shall be struck with paralysis whenever it becomes guilty of usurpation upon the reserved sovereignty of the people; for it is clearly demonstrated by the history of the world, that the mere right of insurrection is no adequate guaranty to subjects oppressed by Machiavellian rulers.

The Federal Government of the United States is triple-headed, and not single-headed.\* The government of England is single-headed. The average

\* The Constitution of Massachusetts states, with great energy, the American theory of the necessity of a threefold distribution of governmental powers. It says: "In the government of this Commonwealth, the legislative department shall never exercise the executive and judicial powers, or either of them: the executive shall never exercise the legislative and judicial powers, or either of them: the judicial shall never exercise the legislative and executive powers, or either of them: TO THE END IT MAY BE A GOVERNMENT OF LAWS, AND NOT OF MEN."

American man, if he have made no special study of American institutions, is naturally, by the force of historical circumstances, on the level of English civilization : and the ideas which lie at the foundation of English institutions spontaneously present themselves to his mind as true, and as in accordance with what he calls common sense ; that is to say, with his unreasoned, instinctive intuitions. Moreover, since the average man usually considers all that he does not know as not worth knowing, every thing which is complex and not simple, every thing that cannot be understood without an expenditure of patient study, is at once rejected by him as false, or at least unpractical.

England is a royal emporocracy (or government of shop-keepers), of which the queen is sovereign in name, but not in fact, and of which the persons who manage the parliament are the real masters. The aristocracy of England is no longer a true aristocracy as it once was, since it no longer represents a military caste, but owes its position to mere political privilege and wealth ; and it may be remarked, that it was never an intellectual caste. In England, the correlative of aristocracy is not reverence and devotion, as it is in countries where real aristocracy exists, but is sheer flunkeyism. An English lord is no more a real noble than the English queen is a real queen. The royal family of England is what it is by act of parliament ; and the aristocracy has become what it is, not by prowess in arms, but by fraudulent encroachments on the liberties of the people. It is not the fashion, at the *present day*, for English aristocrats to boast

of their virtuous poverty, and to base their claims upon the sole historic merits of their families, their own innate nobility of character, and the Spartan simplicity of their lives. The revolutions which have taken place in England have had the effect to sweep aside the sword, the throne, and the altar, and to leave nothing standing as a public institution except the fire-proof safe. The altar, it is true, continues to exist, but it exists only as an agent of the strong box ; and the same may be said of the throne and the sword. If we, in this country, subordinate the executive and judicial departments of our government to the legislative branch, rendering the government single-headed, and placing the sovereignty in Congress alone, we shall at once come under the absolute rule of party leaders, be ground by party machinery, and find ourselves, in a very few years, saddled with a worthless aristocracy like that of England, and differing only from that of England by the lack of time-honored titles. But we cannot hope, if we are willing to be false to our mission, to enjoy the quiet and stability, small as it is, which has fallen to the lot of England. Our country is too wide, and the agricultural interests are too predominant, to admit of our being governed, for any length of time, by Carthaginian and Venetian institutions. No police force would suffice to keep the parts of the country situated at the circumference in subordination to a congressional committee sitting at the centre. Local self-government would assert itself everywhere as force ; and there is no central force, furnished in the nature of *the case*, competent to put local self-government

down. Credit, or *prestige*, which is the spring and regulator of emporocratic government, would cease to exist; for no one would have faith in the permanence of the new institutions. The public debt, which Congress would endeavor to wield as a sword **for** its own purposes, would become worthless. Americans can never forget that they have rights, and will not fail in the long-run to attempt their vindication ; and this is a difficulty not experienced in England, since Englishmen fight, never for rights, but always **for** privileges.

Intelligent and generally well-read persons are to **be** met with every day, who know nothing, except from vague instinct, either of the written Constitution of the United States or of the unwritten Constitution of England, and who suppose that these two constitutions are, at bottom, very much the same thing. Assuming that the Federal Government is single-headed, that sovereignty inheres exclusively in Congress, that Congress is an American duplicate of the British Parliament, and that the voice of Congress is the authentic voice of the American people, they inquire why Congress does not, in difficult cases, inaugurate new interpretations of the Constitution, and change it by novel precedents ; or why they do not change it by actual legislation. They are not aware that all precedents against the written Constitution of the United States are null ; that all legislation against it is void ; and that it must be changed, if changed at all, by a vote of three-fourths of the States. They are not aware that it is the Constitution, and not Congress, which speaks the authentic

voice of the people ; Congress being but one branch of the Government, on the same level with the Executive and the Supreme Court, and representing the people to the same extent — neither more nor less — that the people are represented by the President (who is, like Congress, elected by the people) or by the Judiciary (which is appointed pursuant to provisions of the Constitution).

There is no end to the idiotic perversions of the Constitution, perpetrated by intelligent men who know the instrument by hearsay only. One man will tell you, that, because the word "slave" does not occur in the instrument, slavery could never have been guaranteed by it; as though things are any the less true when men are ashamed to confess them in monosyllabic words, and as though they cannot be as well expressed by exact description as by Saxon names. Another man objects that the words "persons held to service or labor under the laws of a State" may signify apprentices and criminals as well as slaves. Very true ; but does it therefore follow that these words may not also signify slaves, as well as apprentices and convicts ? Another says slavery is immoral in itself, and therefore cannot be guaranteed by a constitution which is the embodiment of all that is right, and of nothing that is wrong ; to which the obvious answer is, that the Constitution is the work of men, and may possibly contain much that is wrong. But, to save space, let us state the sequel of these objections in the form of questions and answers. *Qu.* If any thing clearly wrong is sanctioned by the Constitution, *are we not bound*, by the higher law, to disregard the

Constitution in that respect? *Ans.* Yes; but if you find the Constitution to be "a compact with death, and an agreement with hell," you must be very careful not to take an oath to support it. *Qu.* How, then can honest men hold office under it, if they are not to swear to support it, since the taking of the oath is obligatory upon all Federal and State officers? Moreover, if honest men, through scruples of conscience, leave offices vacant, how do they know that unscrupulous persons will not obtain those offices, and use power and influence for sinister purposes? Again: if all upright men scruple at taking the oath, what shall prevent the whole power of the government from falling into the hands of scoundrels? *Ans.* Before, you talked morality: now you are talking iniquity. If you, from conscientious scruples, refuse honor and promotion, you will derive from that very act an influence for good which you never could derive from official position. Besides, the path of perjury is never the path of duty. *Qu.* Do you think it would be just and fair to the State of Massachusetts to have the State of Georgia come back into the Union, counting her non-voting blacks as a part of her represented population? and would not this very contingency occur if conscientious people should refrain from taking part in governmental action? *Ans.* Certainly, it would be fair to Massachusetts, all of whose population is represented; and it would be unfair—if unfair at all—only to the non-voting blacks, who are, by the supposition, to be represented by delegates not of their own choice. *Qu.* Do you, then, confess that the negroes ought to possess the elective

franchise? *Ans.* Certainly: under due regulations adapted to the condition of a race just emerging from barbarism, such of the negroes ought to be allowed to vote as show themselves competent to be intrusted with the welfare of the non-voting natural people. *Qu.* You approve, then, of legislation by Congress, giving the negroes a right to vote? *Ans.* No: because every Congressman who votes for any thing of the kind perjures himself, if he understands the Constitution in accordance with the usual interpretation; for the Constitution, which every Congressman is bound by oath to support, gives Congress no authority to interfere with the elective franchise in the States. *Qu.* You admit, then, that every man is to obey the oath as he understands it? *Ans.* Without doubt. *Qu.* Suppose the Congressman says he understands the Constitution to give Congress power to regulate the elective franchise in the States? *Ans.* As human nature is now constituted, all judgments that are conceivable are possible; but the presumption would be, either that the man has not read the Constitution, or that he has forgotten it, or that he lies. If a man says he understands black to be white, it by no means necessarily follows that he does, in reality, so understand it. *Qu.* Suppose he puts his interpretation on the ground of the duty of the Federal Government to guarantee to the several States of the Union governments republican in form? *Ans.* A government republican in form is not necessarily a government extravagantly democratic in substance. Ninety-nine out of a hundred of all the republics *that were ever in the world have been based on*

slavery ; and very few of them, if any, have ever adopted universal suffrage. Universal suffrage has never yet existed, even in Massachusetts. Universal suffrage, female suffrage excepted, is not the historical definition of the word "republicanism." *Qu.* Suppose he puts it on the ground of the power of the United States to make foreign conquests ? *Ans.* There is no clause in the Constitution authorizing the Federal Government, by making foreign conquests within the limits of its own territory, to acquire power to determine the qualifications of voters in the States. Such power, if acquired at all, must either be acquired by usurpation, or be conferred by the free consent, "without force, fraud, or surprise," of three-fourths of the States. *Qu.* Are you not very unreasonable and unpractical ? Is it wise to totally ignore the existing condition of the country, and the party necessities of the present crisis ? You will, at least, admit that a President who disappoints the expectations of the party which elected him is guilty of treason, and liable to be deposed from office ? *Ans.* It would be a good plan for men, liable to be called on to take an oath to support the Constitution, to prepare themselves by fasting and prayer for the study of the instrument. *Qu.* Do you regard a sneer as an argument ? Have you no respect for the great masses of the loyal people ? and are you willing to strengthen the hands of Copperheads ? *Ans.* We do not intend either to sneer or to scoff ; and we reply with all the patience we have at command. We suppose a loyal person to be, as the *word implies*, a law-abiding person ; and we certainly

natural right of the State. But the United States, so far as they are a nation at all, are, as yet, an artificial, and not a natural nation, having rights which are not natural, but artificial, acquired to them by special grants, and not inherent in them by the necessity of their nature. There is no present absolute necessity for a Declaration of Rights, reciting the reserved rights of the States, and of the citizens of the States, as a component part of the Federal Constitution; although a necessity for such a Declaration of Rights may one of these days arise: for the United States have, as yet, no natural rights against the exaggeration of which States and citizens should be on their guard. All these questions seem to be questions of mere history, and by no means of difficult solution. The origin of the Federal Government is not yet lost in the night of time.

When the federal people of the United States shall have attained its majority, when every man and woman throughout the wide extent of the whole country shall have accepted the Federal Constitution in his or her heart with the unanimity shown by the people of Massachusetts in accepting their special Constitution, the federal people will exist for itself; the Federal Constitution will become a contract morally binding on all citizens, whether they have or have not taken the oath to support it; and the United States will become a nation. When that time arrives, it will be true practically, as it is now true in theory only, that the federal people of the United States ordain and establish the Federal Constitution for the *United States of America.*

In theory, but not yet practically, the sovereign independent States of Anglo-Saxon North America transfer, by a constitutional compact, their separate and distinct rights, prerogatives, and powers from themselves, *as separate States, to themselves* (and not to the Federal Government), *as the United States*. To prepare the way for the real advent of the federal people, each *State* actually and effectually surrendered, in adopting the Constitution-amending power, all its prerogatives and powers into the hands of the United States (not the Federal Government), with the sole exception of its right to equal representation in the Senate ; three-fourths of the States being authorized, the will of the minority of the States notwithstanding, to change the Constitution of the United States in every particular, the equal representation of the States in the Senate alone excepted. The power of three-fourths of the States hath this full extent. If three-fourths of the States should see fit to re-establish slavery in all the States, Massachusetts would be bound by her covenant-obligation to acquiesce in the change. Of course there would be fighting — and there ought to be fighting — if any outrage of this kind should be attempted ; and any State which should bestow a good cannonading on the United States, as a justifiable admonition that they were going outrageously wrong, would, in such case, confer a general benefit upon the whole people. Again : if three-fourths of the States see fit to strike out the clause of the Constitution guaranteeing republican forms of governments, and prefer to establish imperial governments in all the States and at Washington,

they have the constitutional power and right to carry their will into effect. But this power is given to three-fourths of the States acting in their Constitution-amending capacity, and not at all to the Federal Government, much less (if less be possible) to Congress, a single branch of that government. Slavery can neither be established in the States by act of Congress, nor be abolished in them by proclamation of the President. As a woman, by the contract of marriage, takes a particular man for better or worse,— perhaps for worse without the better,— so each State, by the constitutional compact, takes the other States for better or worse ; and three-fourths of those States have always the power of making the contract for worse at their pleasure. And as women, notwithstanding the marriage contract, sometimes fight their husbands, so it is possible that individual States may sometimes fight the United States, in spite of their covenant-obligation.

There is no provision made in the Federal Constitution either for the secession of disaffected States or for the dissolution of the Union. No State can, therefore, lawfully be liberated from its contract except by an amendment of the Constitution, approved by three-fourths of all the States ; and any State which undertakes of its own motion, without justifiable cause, and without previous agreement with the other States, to go out of the Union, renders itself liable to be indirectly restrained by force from consummating its act of secession. The union of the States is a lawful marriage, and no free-love affair at all. Not that the State itself, as such, can be directly

coerced ; for the Constitution, as it stands, gives no authority to the Federal Government to coerce a State : but the Federal Government rightfully claims the allegiance of all the citizens of all the States ; and no citizen can take part in any movement having in view the secession of a State, without, by that act, becoming guilty of rebellion against the United States. The Federal Government may, therefore, by trying rebellious citizens, and punishing them on conviction, effectually check rebellion in a State without interfering with the sovereignty of the State itself. The powers granted to the Federal Government by the Constitution, to make laws for carrying into execution all powers vested in the Government of the United States, and also to raise armies, and to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union and suppress insurrection, are very broad, and sufficient for any emergency.

When, on the other hand, either as the result of actual invasion, of civil war, or of any other conceivable cause whatsoever, the constitutional government of a State becomes dormant, the State itself is not therefore annihilated, but still subsists as a State in the Union. It is the people who are the State ; and the State subsists so long as its people are not, all of them, either killed or expatriated.\* When the gov-

\* This may be illustrated by the case of Massachusetts. It is the people of Massachusetts who are the State of Massachusetts, the organized government being neither the people nor the State. "THE PEOPLE inhabiting the territory formerly called the Province of Massachusetts Bay formed THEMSELVES," not the three departments of their government, "into a free, sovereign, and independent body-politic, by the name of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts."

ernment of a State becomes dormant, its powers revert, not to Congress, but to the people of the State. The Constitution of the United States nowhere authorizes the Federal Government to inherit, under any circumstances, the sovereignty of a State. Our Revolutionary fathers never allowed that the sovereignty of a British province could pass, because of the utter subversion of its government, anywhere else than to the people of the province: they never allowed that it could revert to the British Parliament. The Declaration of Independence says,—

“The King of Great Britain . . . has repeatedly dissolved representative houses; . . . he has refused, for a long time, after such dissolution, to cause others to be elected: whereby *the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, HAVE RETURNED TO THE PEOPLE AT LARGE FOR THEIR EXERCISE; the State remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.*”

Any other principle would have vitiated our whole Revolutionary record. It will be observed that the States which adopted the Federal Constitution were not the State governments, and that the instrument was not sanctioned by the State legislatures, but that the people ratified the Constitution themselves (constructively) by their delegates in convention.

Who are the constitutional people of a State whose government is dormant, or whose government has been usurped? Obviously, the people who were constitutionally the people of the State at the moment its government became dormant or was usurped, and the persons who have, under the constitution of the *State, been since virtually added to the people.* The

Federal Government may thin out the people of a rebel State by hanging those among them who can be proved guilty of treason against the United States ; but it has no constitutional authority, as the Constitution now stands, to meddle in any way with the qualifications of voters in any of the States, rebel or other. If the United States, by terms of capitulation agreed to on the field of battle, or by proclamation of amnesty, and acts of pardon, or by injudicious legislation, tie their own hands, so that they cannot punish rebels, they act within the unquestionable limits of their own sovereignty ; but they cannot, by merely abandoning their authority to punish rebels lawfully, acquire a right either to punish rebels unlawfully, or to coerce States. Those rights, if acquired at all, must be acquired by another process. The fact, that neither the legislatures nor governors of the rebel States applied to the Federal Government for protection of the Southern people against domestic violence, did not relieve the United States from their obligation to guarantee to the law-abiding people of those States the benefits of the governments, republican in form, which existed in those States when the Rebellion broke out. It was the duty of the United States to restore those governments, in their authentic form, at the first practicable moment. The United States acquire no rights from their failure to do their own duty. Allegiance implies, as its correlative, that the subject should be protected from violence ; and governments which cannot protect their subjects from violence have no right to demand allegiance. Men *who were conscripted into the rebel armies have a*

right to claim damages from the United States. The United States fought out the war against the rebels, not merely to vindicate their own authority, but also to fulfil their constitutional duty of guaranteeing to all their subjects the benefits of the Federal Constitution and laws. They fought to secure to the Southern States the free enjoyment of their own constitutions and of the Federal Constitution, and not for the purpose of making foreign conquests within the limits of their own territories.

In the United States, as a general rule, whatever institution or principle prematurely undertakes to make itself national, damages itself by its own act; and whatever institution or principle wrongfully undertakes to make itself national, destroys itself. There have been, from the beginning, many contending parties in the country, and, among them, two which demand special notice in this place; the one striving to nationalize the institution of slavery, and the other striving "to make freedom national." Slavery is guaranteed in the Constitution; but it is guaranteed vaguely, although effectually, and by implication only, as a local, and not as a national, institution. If the advocates of slavery could have obtained the requisite number of votes, they would, without doubt, have made slavery national by an amendment of the Federal Constitution; but finding themselves to be, by no means, an overwhelming majority of the whole country, they endeavor to accomplish their purpose by insidiously promulgating and defending an interpretation of the Constitution which would have the effect to tacitly transform the instrument into con-

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formity with their wishes. Republishing in the Southern papers every arrogant and insulting thing that was said or printed at the North in derogation of slavery, they appealed to the Southern sense of pride and self-respect, "fired the Southern heart," and created a compact local majority in the Southern States in favor of rendering the existence of slavery dominant and eternal. Holding the balance of power between the historical parties of the country, this local and well-disciplined but merely local majority, for a long time, allowed no President to be chosen by the people who was not either a Southern man, or else what they called "a Northern man with Southern principles." They obtained also the control of Congress, and caused the passage of unconstitutional laws for the protection of the slave-system ; such, for example, as the Fugitive-slave Law.

[We call the Fugitive-slave Law unconstitutional, because the clause providing for the delivering-up of escaped persons held to service or labor, under the laws of a State, is in the nature of a compact between the States, and dependent on the sole honor of the States for its fulfilment, and because the Constitution gives the Federal Government no authority whatever to guarantee the execution of the clause.]\*

The slave-power finally obtained decisions from the

\* Although the slave-power was very impartial in the employment of instruments, it used the Whigs even more effectually and freely than it did the Democrats. The Fugitive-slave Law was passed under a Whig administration ; and was signed by Millard Fillmore, a Whig President. At the Whig Convention of 1852, Fillmore's policy, the Fugitive-slave Law included, was approved by a vote of 227 against 60 ; and a member of his cabinet, known to have approved all his measures, was nominated for Vice-President.

Supreme Court of the United States, which, if allowed to have their natural effect, would have rendered slavery a national institution. In gaining the three departments of the Federal Government, the slave-power literally gained nothing, but, on the contrary, sowed the seed of its own destruction. The attempted evil was at once effectually checked by what really amounted to State interposition, and nullification at the North ; and so it was again clearly demonstrated by facts, that the Constitution of the United States cannot be amended by the conjoint action of the three departments of the Federal Government, but must be amended, if amended at all, by a vote of three-fourths of the States.

“ The firing of the Southern heart ” led to offensive conduct on the part of the South ; which, in turn, was answered by retaliation on the part of the North. The invasion and occupation of Kansas by Border ruffians led to the invasion of Virginia by John Brown. One event followed another, until the event came which was predestined from the moment when the Southern heart was first “ fired,” — the South rose in insurrection. Necessarily, in the nature of things, the North being richer, equally brave, and more populous, than the South, the issue being squarely put, and slavery being essentially indefensible in morals, the first gun fired at Sumter was the death-knell of the whole slave-system. The crime of the South, politically considered, — the one which, in the nature of things, was inevitably punished, — was not that of slaveholding, but that of “ federalism,” or “ nationalism,” in the obnoxious sense of the word:

it was the criminal attempt to change the Constitution of the United States by perversions of the instrument,— perversions sanctioned by the departments of the Federal Government and by brute force. The destruction of slavery, although inevitable, was a part of the punishment only ; and the insurrection was not the original crime, but a punishable act, naturally consequent upon the crime consummated before the insurrection finally broke out.

On the other hand, the abolitionists of the North were men of quick moral perception, who never understood how one man could own another man. They were, in great majority, individualists and non-resistants. Regarding the constitutional duty of the United States to guarantee each State of the Union against domestic violence, as an obligation upon Congress to vote men and money to shoot, stab, and kill insurrectionary slaves, they refused to take office under the Federal Government, and affirmed the Federal Constitution to be “ a covenant with hell, and an agreement with death.” Regarding the rendition of fugitive slaves as a duty constitutionally obligatory on the States, they refused to accept any State office that required an oath to support the Constitution of the United States. Most of them regarded the mere act of voting for Federal or State officers as a voluntary complicity with crime. Harmless, peaceful, but very fierce in speech, and eloquent, looked upon by most persons as men of unsound mind, they obtained great influence through the care taken by Southern statesmen to ostentatiously notice, and disseminate with well-feigned indignant reprobation, abolition

speeches and pamphlets. Benton warned Calhoun that he was giving importance before the country to enthusiasts, who would have no influence if left to themselves ; but Calhoun understood the hand he held, and knew how to play his cards..

It was an effect of the late war to suddenly and absurdly bring the abolition leaders prominently before the people in the false guise of far-seeing, neglected prophets, and as exceedingly powerful and successful agitators and guides to public opinion. All this was a mistake : the war would have occurred, and slavery would have gone under, if no American or Massachusetts antislavery society had ever existed. The abolition movement was an incidental effect of the historical public ferment, not a cause of it. The heads of the abolition leaders were, however, completely turned by the expressions of admiration and devotion that were unexpectedly showered upon them. It was something novel in their experience. They were utterly demoralized by their own apparent success ; and their first actions demonstrated their unworthiness of the greatness thrust upon them. They forgot that they were peace-men and non-resistants ; they forgot that they had been acting all along from conscientious motives, outside the Constitution ; and they condescended willingly (whether consciously or unconsciously) to play the part of petted, bepraised tools of political intriguers, who cared little for either slavery or freedom, provided they could lift once again the dishonored banner of "Federalism," and organize the action of the Federal Government in the *interest* of their own ambition, and to the confiscation

of local liberty. Thus slave-propagandism and abolitionism both ended in "federalism" — "nationalism;" the first in a federalism which tended to the subordination of Northern rights and interests to the advantage of the dominant faction at the South, and the second in a federalism which tended to the subordination of Southern rights and interests to the advantage of the dominant faction at the North. The temporary triumph of the first was followed by a temporary triumph of the second ; and the effort on both sides has been productive of nothing but disaster.

To show the utter moral incompetency of the anti-slavery leaders, we may remark, that when slavery, by appealing to the sword, had mortally stung itself, so that it was virtually, although not yet actually, destroyed by its own venom, they allowed the federal-abolition influence to force Mr. Lincoln to issue a proclamation liberating slaves, and giving military necessity (a term of blasphemy to the antislavery men in the earlier stages of their movement) as the motive for his act. Now, such a proclamation by the constitutional commander-in-chief, and from such a proclaimed motive, was perfectly valid : but it placed the liberation of the slaves (where it need never have been placed) on the ground of the destruction of private property in view of the public good ; and the Constitution says expressly, "Nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation." It may be remarked here, that the power of the commander-in-chief extends to the liberation of *slaves, but not to the abolition of slavery*. Probably

few persons, competent to form an opinion, will maintain that a single slave was liberated under Mr. Lincoln's proclamation who would not have been liberated if the proclamation had never been issued ; but the ferocious passion for federalistic action was so urgent, that it was deemed expedient to kill the slave-power by an act of federal authority, regardless of consequences, before it could have time to die of itself, and for the purpose of vindicating federal supremacy over the local rights of the States. Thus the United States find themselves saddled with a strictly legal obligation to compensate the former owners of the slaves for their liberated chattels, those owners only excepted who can be convicted of treasonable conduct ; for all men retain the rights of innocent persons until they are convicted of guilt. This claim will certainly be urged ; and, if not duly honored, will, at least, serve as a makeweight in some damaging compromise. The United States, like all other moral agents, are bound by their own voluntary acts : they cannot lawfully repudiate any of the obligations which they have freely taken upon themselves. And this is the curse of all "federalism" in the United States, that it exercises itself in reckless expenditures of unconstitutional force, all of which have to be expiated at the expense of poverty and suffering on the part of the people. So long as the Federal Constitution remains the fundamental law of the land, every unconstitutional act will be followed, sooner or later, by its constitutional compensation of suffering to some one. It is cruel, therefore, to attempt the establishment of "federalism" in the

United States, without having first repealed, revoked, or destroyed the Federal Constitution.

The failure of the abolition leaders to show an elevation of character adequate to the part they are called on to play in the existing crisis is the great misfortune of the time. If they had kept their record clear ; if they now retained their ancient hostility to violence and perjury ; if, while manfully bearing their testimony against slavery and oppression, they had preserved their skirts from being stained by the blood of war, and had refrained from countenancing federal usurpation of rights belonging to the States and the people,—they would have been able to stand forward now as mediators for the negro, who, with the ambition, cupidity, and lust of power of the Northern white man pressing him on one side, and the instincts and necessities of the Southern white man pressing him on the other, is ground between the upper and the nether millstone. Unfortunately, the abolition leaders have become, like the rest of our public men, mere party politicians. After all, the negro has his lot cast in with that of the white man of the South, and will have to live side by side with the Southern white man. It was neither wise nor humane to widen, as we have done, the chasm which separates between the negro and the white man of the South ; for the chasm will have to be bridged over, and the two races will be under the necessity of living together upon such terms as they can mutually establish ; and, ultimately, those terms will be settled independently of any dictation exercised by the North. The government of the South by the North is too

expensive to last long. It would cost nothing at the present time to exert the influences of brotherly love and of Christian charity, if we possessed public men competent to exert a Christian influence. If we had a class of men at the North such as the abolitionists might have been at this moment if they had not given way to a feminine ferocity, and an unchristian zeal for coercion, terms of reconciliation might be offered through them to the South, and the whole country might be re-united on true Christian grounds, both in spirit and in form, and the welfare of the negro might be guaranteed.

The moral weakness manifested by our antislavery reformers seems to have its origin in their unbalanced individualism, and their belief in the completeness, and possible independence and perfection, of the isolated man. The subjective divinity of the human soul seems to have been overdone by the existing generation. Individualism is good in its place, as qualified and balanced by socialism ; but the experience of the world shows clearly that individualism unbalanced by socialism, and socialism unbalanced by individualism, lead always to disastrous social and political crises. The moral and political questions of the hour are of complex, and not of simple, solution : it is with savages only that moral questions are void of complexity. To the true philosopher, society is a living being, endowed with an intelligence and an activity of its own, governed by special laws which are discoverable by observation, and by observation only, and whose existence is manifested, not under a *material aspect*, but in the concert and in the close

mutual dependence of all the members of the social body. The theological name of the universal social body is *Adam*, or the collective man. The dogma of the community of penalties and sufferings in *Adam* is as old as theology itself. Everywhere the innocent have been seen to suffer with the guilty, and the guilty to suffer, not the exact penalty of their crimes (except in the case where judgments issue from human tribunals), but the share that falls to them in the distribution of sufferings due to the community. We are all mutually dependent, morally, intellectually, and physically, upon each other. What we possess, we owe partly to our own faculties, but mainly to the education and material aid received by us from our parents, friends, neighbors, and other members of society. A child exposed, at birth, on a doorstep in Beacon Street, and a child exposed on a bleak rock in a desolate island, will experience the results of different social conditions. In every country, men begin by taking their religion, their intellectual culture, and their aims in life, from the social media in which they find themselves. Individual men have, to a very limited extent only, the power of determining their own destinies. Divine Providence has an important influence on human affairs.

The United States are a collective man, a living creature, whose body is composed of the mass of the people, whose twofold intelligence (understanding and reason) is organized in the two houses of Congress, whose will resides in the Executive department, and whose active conscience is organized in the Judiciary. In the Old-World popular organisms, the

public conscience (the Judiciary) has taken cognizance of crimes committed by subjects only, and has not been allowed to take cognizance of crimes committed by governments ; but in the United States a new experiment is started, and the organic conscience of the country takes cognizance of the constitutional validity of the laws. The government and the law are themselves on trial whenever any individual citizen is tried. This is the great original feature of our institutions.

The cherubim of Mount Zion, the man-headed, lion-headed, and eagle-headed bulls of Assyria, and the sphinxes of Egypt, were symbols of the collective man,—of social and political unity. The enigma of the Greek sphinx was the problem of the collective man,—the social and political problem which must be solved by the governments of each successive generation, under penalty of being devoured, in case of incapacity, by the ever-progressing revolution.

We are what we are, as individuals and as a people, not solely on account of our own exertions, but also because the world was what it was before we were born. The Present, says Leibnitz, is the child of the Past, and is big with the Future. Was it through our exertions that the Hebrew commonwealth existed more than four thousand years ago ; that the ideas and theories on which that commonwealth was founded exercised a controlling influence on the formation of our institutions ; that our fathers (escaping from persecution in England in order that they might themselves persecute their more consistent brethren, the Baptists and Quakers) were thoroughly Semiticized

by an intellectual, moral, religious, and political teaching which had come out of the East? Did we create this Western continent? Did we determine the remarkable concurrence of circumstances which determined the motives and conduct of our fathers, which now determine ours, and which rendered the foundation and existence of our institutions possible? Certainly the Lord had a hand in all this! Our fathers, indeed, chose the institutions under which we now live; but they had Hobson's choice only, since no other institutions were, under the circumstances, possible. The will of man is no more efficacious, at this moment of time, than it has been all along from the beginning. Man proposes, and God disposes. The jubilation of our Fourth-of-July orators over our institutions as the creatures of the mere will of man, and of popular free choice, is like a grand national anthem to the effect, "It is not He who made us, but we ourselves!" Mexican political theories are always accompanied by Mexican conceit and vainglory. The advanced religion of the day is atheism; and its fundamental dogma is this, that God is dead. But the advanced religion of the day will have to take a step backward; for, contrary to its assertion, God is "He who *only* hath immortality." Our fathers are dead, and are buried; in a short time, we also shall be dead and buried: but the same finger of the Almighty which left its trace in the legislation of Mount Sinai, and which left its trace in the Constitution of the United States, will reveal itself as moulding the destinies of our children.

**It is not true that our institutions were created by**

the unaided will of man, and that the will of man may suffice to destroy them : if they are destroyed at all, they will be destroyed at the will of the great Disposer of events, who may possibly have formed us as vessels of dishonor, fore-ordained to serve as warning examples to peoples more favored by his sovereign good pleasure. How do we know that our experiment was intended, from the beginning, to be successful ?

Neither is it true that the elective franchise is a natural right of man ; for the elective franchise is a trust, and not a natural right of any citizen. Voting is not mentioned, in the Declaration of Rights, as a natural and indefeasible right. The legal peoples of the country are mere juries of experts, whose duty it is to express the will and defend the interests of the whole people, the great majority of whom are never allowed to vote at all. The formation of the legal peoples was anterior to the formation of our constitutions ; for the constitutions, when made, were authenticated by the pre-existing legal peoples. The legal peoples came into being mysteriously, providentially, inexplicably, and by the act of the Almighty working through historical causes. If any addition is to be made to their numerical force, the change should take effect in the natural, mysterious way, through the operation of historical causes, and by the vote of the legal peoples themselves. It would be absurd to allow Congress to constitute and determine its own constituency, and thus enable a dominant faction to saddle itself upon an unwilling people forever.

*The legal peoples, and not Congress, are the true*

sovereign. It is the freedom of speech and of the press, the enjoyment of liberty and property, and the pursuit of happiness, which is to be ranked as of natural right, and which is guaranteed as such by the State constitutions. If the legal peoples govern the governments, public opinion governs the legal peoples; and public opinion is formed by women and non-voters, as well as by men and voters. What we require in this country is, not an increase in the number of voters (although it is supposed that no valid objection can be urged against an extension of the suffrage, by the proper authority, to all persons competent to exercise it to the welfare of themselves and of the non-voting natural people), but an increase of honesty at Washington, and, above all, State judges and juries who will decide cases triable by State courts according to the constitutions of their own States, giving parties before them the full benefit of the State Declarations of Rights. It is a matter of astonishment to persons of a speculative turn of mind to find few (or rather no) reports of cases decided on the ground of the inalienable and indefeasible liberties guaranteed to the people in the Declarations of Rights. The Declarations of Rights stand, to a great extent, as dead letters on the statute-books: they are treated as rhetorical surplusage!

W. B. G.

BROOKLINE, MASS., 1868.



## **THE HISTORY OF MARRIAGE.**



## THE HISTORY OF MARRIAGE.

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IN the profound and astonishing exposition of the PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY (written partly from the Babylonian, and partly from the Egyptian standpoint, but with a loftier inspiration than any that was ever known, either to the Babylonians or to the Egyptians) which has come down to us in the first ten chapters of the Book of Genesis (*the Bereshith*), we find the primitive *mankind*, living without the institution of marriage, and in utter promiscuity, clearly characterized as the *collective* personality of ADAM ; not Adam as he existed after Eve had been taken out of his side, but as he existed in his original unity of totality, on the sixth day of the creation, before the contradistinction of the sexes was reflectively noted and definitively indicated by express terms of human language.\* Now, *to call by name* denotes, in the Shemitic use of words, *a characterization of essential nature*. It is written : " This is the book of the generations of *Adam*. In the day when Elohim created

\* **EVA** (the collective *wife*), first appeared in the Garden of Eden, not only long after the original creation of men and women on the sixth day, but also long after the Creator had absolutely " rested on the seventh day from all the work he had made." Eva was not created at all : she was simply *contradistinguished from Adam quoad Ish*, and was characterized as Isha—Isis.

*Adam*, in the likeness of Elohim made he **HIM** (Heb.—*atho*) ; male and female created he **THEM** : and he blessed **THEM** (Heb.—*athm*) ; and he *called the name of THEM, ADAM*, in the day of the creating of **THEM**" (Gen. v. 1, 2). **THEY** were created male and female ; and the name of **THEM**, taken collectively, without distinction of sex, is the collective name **ADAM**,—*mankind*. Adam was not the name of the first man ; for there was no first man. Men and women were created simultaneously, in great numbers, sporadically. Adam was the name, not of the first individual man, but of the first *collective man*,—of the first human society. And, since the first human society comprised both men and women, Adam was male-female.

The true meaning of the name *Adam* is to be sought in the word *Athom*, the name of the oldest of the Egyptian gods.

The Egyptians worshipped the transfigured souls of their ancestors ; and they reverenced him who was the first ancestor, on earth, of the human race, as being, in heaven, the pivot on which all human events turn. The Egyptian "*Book of the Dead*" \* speaks of Athom as "the *old man* who is at On ;" that is to say, as the first ancestor of mankind, and as having his special sanctuary at Heliopolis, the City of the Sun. The disembodied spirit of the dead Egyptian,

\* A more or less complete copy of "*The Book of the Dead*" was placed under the arm of every properly embalmed mummy. Many copies of it have been found. Versions of it into English have been made by Birch and Osburn. French, Italian, and German versions of it have also been made. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the pains that have been taken by the interpreters, *the book, as it is rendered into modern speech, is very enigmatic and obscure.*

to whom the ritual serves as a guide-book in its journeys, says, in the words of the ritual itself, when it reaches the abode of the gods,—

“ My soul stands up square (perpendicular, plumb) to face its judge ;

It is found true (level, horizontal) on the ground :

I do not, therefore, compute my justification in many parts.”

*From the Book of the Dead.*

The disembodied soul also praises Athom, saying,—

“ Athom (Adam) is the god alone in the firmament,

The sun in his rising : and when he rises, his rule begins.

He rises at Bubastis, where to-morrow’s infant son is born.

I (Athem, Adam) am the great god creating myself.

The water in the Nuh (Noah) is the father of the gods.

Yesterday is Osiris ; the morning is the sun.

The name of Osiris is the prophet of the sun.

The name of Osiris is the soul of the sun.

The name of Osiris is the self-begotten.

But I (Adam) am the great Phœnix which is at On (Heliopolis),  
The creator of beings and of existences.”

*From the Book of the Dead.*

Now, the word *Athem* denotes in Egyptian, as it does also in Hebrew, the pronoun *them*. We, under the influence of the Hebrew tradition, recognizing the First Cause as one and male, designate the Most High as *He, Him*; but the Egyptians, holding as they did that the First Cause is bi-sexual, a multiplicity in unity, and a unity of totality, an *Elohim*, mentioned it reverentially as *They, Them* — *Athem*.

Many of the names recorded in the first ten chapters of Genesis as names of men are recorded on the Egyptian and Babylonian monuments as names of

gods or goddesses. What the Egyptians and Babylonians worshipped as divine principles governing social evolutions, the Hebrew philosopher and iconoclast mentions as actual men, and as human initiators of human institutions. Cain was a Phoenician goddess worshipped in Lower Egypt, where her sculptured nude figure is still extant on the monuments ; and it is because of his masculine prejudices that the Hebrew philosopher perversely presents her as a male.\* Seth was one of the great gods of Egypt ; but the Egyptians, a little before the time of Moses, changing his name from Seth to Typhon, degraded him from his high rank. Seth became Sathan. Noah was the god of water and of the River Nile, and presided over the annual overflow of the streams ; and so on. What was originally theology and theogony among the Egyptians, became afterwards, among the Hebrews (to whose apprehensions the Supreme was essentially One and Alone, neither begetting nor begotten) a simple philosophy of human history.

Society authentically intervenes, at the present time, in the contracting of marriages *by methods of law*, and, therefore, by the instrumentality of ministers of law, who may be either civil magistrates, or priests, or perhaps persons not clothed with definite public functions. But, in human societies where no proclaimed law as yet exists, the organic whole, which is the collective society, intervenes in contracts made by the individuals who compose it, through the simple

\* A picture of Koun, Chiun, Cain, the *proprietress of Heaven*, and a form of Ath-or,—taken from the monuments of Lower Egypt,—is given on the 62d page of Sharpe's "Egyptian Mythology."

force of *public opinion*. Public opinion is *law* in its half-virtual, half-unfolded state ; and of public opinion every member of the community is a minister.

Sir John Lubbock\* says that the Hottentots are still living in the original Adamic condition, without making any conscious contradistinction between man and woman as husband and wife. He says that the Hottentot language has no word to express the difference between married and unmarried persons. The mere notion, or idea, of marriage has not yet dawned upon the Hottentot mind. Among the Nains of India, no one knows his own father, and every one looks on his sisters' children as his heirs : the only relationships recognized are those of the mother to her children, and of the children to their mother, and of the children of the same mother to each other. The Teehurs of Oude live indiscriminately in large communities. Page after page might be filled with extracts to this same purpose, all of them taken from the narrations of travellers.

Now, if the Hottentots would reflect and consider, and form intellectual conceptions, and give names to the ideal objects that might be born to their minds (a thing which the dumb animals are incompetent to do), and would then form special judgments respecting the validity of their conceptions, which judgments would be *opinions*, and afterwards compare their opinions, and find that an agreement in views existed among the Hottentots generally, that agreement would necessarily, and by the nature of the

\* The Origin of Civilization, and the Primitive Condition of Man. By Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P., F.R.S.

case, assume the form of *public opinion*. And such public opinion would, in time, gather strength, and become competent — through the instrumentality of the persons influenced by it — to enforce itself. If the Hottentots would once think, their society would be silently and gradually transformed and transfigured by the operation of human thought; and they would become co-ordinated, by the sole force of that human thought, into a single community, having common aims and interests. Again: by the nature of the case, since no other fundamental social principle would naturally be known to it, the Hottentot society would find itself organized, at the first start, on the principle of "complex marriage," — the very basis adopted in New York for the Oneida Association. Every Hottentot man would become the *legitimate* (and no longer the unmarried) husband of every Hottentot woman; and every Hottentot woman would become the *legitimate* (not the unmarried) wife of every Hottentot man.

Sir John Lubbock says, —

"The key of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Island system is found in the idea conveyed in the word *waheena* (woman). Thus —

<i>Waheena</i> denotes	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Wife.} \\ \text{Wife's sister.} \\ \text{Brother's wife.} \\ \text{Wife's brother's wife.} \end{array} \right.$

And all these are equally related to each husband: hence the word *kaikee*, denoting 'child,' also denotes the brother's wife's child, and no doubt the wife's sister's child, and the wife's brother's wife's child. So, also, as the sister is wife to the brother-in-law (though not to her brother), and as the brother-in-law

is husband to his brother's wife, he is consequently a father to his brother's children: hence *kaikee* also means 'sister's son' and 'brother's son.' In fact, *kaikee* and *waheena* correspond to our words 'child' and 'woman;' and there are apparently no words answering to 'son,' 'daughter,' 'wife,' or 'husband.' That this does not arise from poverty of language is evident, because the same system discriminates between other relationships which we do not distinguish. . . .

"When a woman is speaking, she calls her husband's brother's wife *punlua*; her husband's sister, *kaikoaka*; and her brother-in-law, whether sister's husband, or husband's brother, *kana*, i.e., 'husband.' When, on the contrary, a man is speaking, he calls his wife's sister and his brother's wife, *waheena*, i.e. 'wife.' . . . Thus a woman has husbands and sisters-in-law, but no brothers-in-law: a man, on the contrary, has wives and brothers-in-law, but no sisters-in-law. . . .

"Among the Todas of the Neilgherry Hills, when a man marries a girl, she becomes the wife of all his brothers as they successively reach manhood; and they also become the husbands of all her sisters as they become old enough to marry. . . . Of the Tottiyars of India, it is recorded that 'brothers, uncles, and nephews hold their wives in common.' So, also, according to Nicolaus, the Galactophagi had communal marriage, 'where they called all old men fathers, young men sons, and those of equal age brothers.' "

It would be useless to multiply citations.

The evolution of human society commenced in the institution of complex marriage. 'But we are informed by authentic historical documents, that, in the very early times, public opinion becoming more and more enlightened in certain favored communities, the women of those communities — sustained by that public opinion, and shocked and scandalized by the social condition in which they found themselves — were enabled to successfully revolt against complex

marriage, and to overthrow it. Strange as it may seem (and we will show, a little further on, how they managed to do it), the old-world women established a new social organization for the more advanced communities, and a new marriage-system, based on the ground of absolute female supremacy. In the new order of things, the husband became the subject of the wife; the woman was absolute owner of the homestead; property descended, and relationships were counted, exclusively in the female line; and the women seized and retained the principal share of political power. A story that is now going the round of the newspapers may be adduced here to illustrate the essential nature of the special society that was founded on the ruins of the primitive one by the old-world women. It is said that the female spiders weave their webs for themselves only; the male spiders weaving no webs, and having no homes of their own, but going around, calling from time to time on their lady-friends. The male spiders own, therefore, no real estate, and enjoy none of the privileges derived from possession of real property; since no real estate is known to them, except such as has been created, and already seized upon in perpetuity, by the female spiders. Curious observers, who have made a study of the habits and ways of these creatures, say that the female spiders outgrow, and shed, their skins, which are a sort of unyielding shells, not growing with the growth of their bodies. These observers aver, furthermore, that they usually find in the back part of the webs, among ancient relics, consisting of bursted spider-corsets, and of discarded spider-hoop-

skirts, the dried-up mortal remains of such unfortunate gentlemen-spiders as, through an error of judgment, have committed the indelicacy and indiscretion to call once too often on these savage proprietresses. We give the spider-story for what it is worth: it is not at all within our personal knowledge that the details of it are scientifically accurate. But that a state of society once existed among men and women, similar to the one that is said to obtain among the spiders, is a matter that can be demonstrated by the citation of authentic historical facts.

It may be objected that men are stronger than women, and that it is therefore impossible, in the nature of things, for women to overcome men, and to keep them in permanent subjection. But is it strictly true that men are stronger in all respects than women?

Men are stronger than women physically and intellectually; but, sentimentally, women are stronger than men. The old-world women obtained the upper hand of the men, neither by superiority of intellect, nor by the exertion of physical force, but by instinctively playing upon superstitions that have their root in the inmost nature of man. We will explain, and with such carefulness as we may have at command, the circumstances and conditions under which the women became enabled to acquire sovereignty over the men, and also the measures the women had recourse to for the accomplishment of their project; and we will confirm our exposition by express citations from historical writers.

Spontaneous and groundless terror has been ob-

served, in all countries, and in all ages, to be natural to man. The roughest and toughest soldiers and sailors blanch, become paralyzed, and tremble all over, when they conceive themselves to be in the immediate presence of ghosts. In the half-light of the evening, men sometimes see ghosts, or think they see them, and, until the delusion subsides, their hairs stand on end from the effect of what is called "religious horror." When, however, it is discovered that the material of the spectres consists of masses of foliage, flexible bushes, and boughs of trees, waving to and fro in the wind, white sheets hung out to dry, or the like, the "religious horror" ceases, and the ghosts are recognized to be no ghosts at all. Mistakes of apprehension, and injudicious conduct flowing from false estimates of existing facts, are human. The first sight of himself in a looking-glass, is, usually, to a savage, an unanswerable argument in proof of his own spiritual existence. Savages take note of their own dreams, and think they *know*, from actual experience, that, their bodies being motionless in sleep, their spirits visit distant places, making long journeys in an instant of time, and finding physical barriers no obstacles to their excursions. When a savage is visited in his dreams by a deceased parent or friend, the savage *knows* (or *thinks* he knows) that the visit is real, and that the parent or friend still exists. Such ancestors as still appear to savages in dreams are supposed by them to be yet alive; but such grandfathers as are no longer dreamed about, and especially such great-grandfathers, are supposed to have become extinct. Many of the older religions taught expressly

that the life of ancestors beyond the grave is prolonged by ceremonies that tend to keep alive the recollection of forefathers in the hearts of their children. Ask a savage negro, "Where is your grandfather?" and he will reply, "Don't know: his spirit has gone out — finished — done." But ask him where his father and brother are, who died recently, and he will immediately become full of trouble and terror, and will state his belief that they are near the place where their bodies are buried. There are many full-grown American citizens who ought to know better, and who do know better, that much prefer to hire some one to go through a lonely burial-ground for them at "low-twelve," rather than to go through it themselves. That ghosts should wander abroad, "making night hideous," until they succeed in inducing some living person to expiate their crimes, and to bury their murdered and neglected bodies, and that they should then rest "in quiet" near the graves where their bodies lie mouldering, is something that is still within the range of our conceptions.

Among the half-savage tribes, each individual half-savage remembers ancestors who were half-savages — or, perhaps, three-quarter-savages — before him. He looks upon such ancestors as having been men in all points like unto himself. He wills to live always as his father and grandfather lived. Why? Because his father and grandfather, though dead, are nearer to him, and more present to his thoughts, and especially to his dreams, than any living persons outside the circle of his immediate family. He expects to live, in his dreams, with his father and grandfather in this

world ; and, in the world to come, he expects to live with them in the family grave. He fears, if he should adopt new opinions, or cultivate new manners, that the tie of sympathy between himself and them may become weakened ; that the ghosts of his fathers, appearing in wrathful forms, may fill his dreams with terror, rendering his nights intolerable ; and that he may find himself, hereafter, an alien from his ancestors in the world of the dead. He wills, therefore, to feel, in all things, as they felt, to think as they thought, to live as they lived, and to thus prepare himself to be received by them, in the underworld, as altogether one of themselves. It is on this deference to the memory of dead men and women, this continual sense of their spiritual presence, that the "worship of ancestors" is grounded ; and the "worship" itself, at least in its higher forms, consists in the stated performance of such ceremonies as are found best adapted to perpetuate the memory of dead fore-fathers, and to confirm the existing sentiments of individual families.

Half-savages are godless : "They live without God in the world." Their ghost-gods are no real gods, but dead men. The half-savages are not atheists, because atheism is a conscious repudiation of the gods, implying a foregone knowledge of the gods, and is the fruit, if it appear at all, of a very advanced state of civilization. They are not atheists, but godless. Believers in ghost-gods believe also, and naturally, *in luck*: they believe each and every existing thing — even the things which civilized men call inanimate, and designate as mere matter — to be animated by a special soul

proper to itself. As a boy, who, playing at marbles with another boy, has his attention arrested by the fact that he wins several times running with a special marble, puts the marble aside as *lucky*, and for future use on critical occasions, making a *fetish*\* of it, so the half-savage regards arrows that fail to reach their mark as unlucky, possessed of an unfriendly spirit, and fit only to be broken ; while he regards arrows that hit their mark as lucky, and animated by a friendly influence. To the minds of all men, existing friendship, manifesting itself in friendly acts, is something worthy of recognition and cultivation. Thus the half-savage feels himself to be in communion, not only with the spirits of dead men and women, but also with the spirits of all the animate, and of all the inanimate, things that surround him. This is the ground of the belief in gnomes and fairies. It is also the ground of confidence in omens, and of the belief in the possibility of divination by the practice of occult arts. But the greater part of the religion of half-savages grows out of their firm faith in the possibility of necromancy, of authentic and intelligible inter-communications between the living and the dead. Spirit-rappings and trance-mediums are as old as history. There seems to be some perennial root in man's nervous system,— or some other ground, be it what it may, in man's nature,— which causes spontaneous delusions to manifest themselves, always and everywhere, in substantially the same forms. An ignorant, illiterate "trance-medium," in giving an account of a spirit that had terrified her, described to

\* A *fetish* is a *fairy* thing, a thing bewitched.

the writer, in the city of Boston, with exact precision, the old Egyptian Typhon, and in language profounder than that of the hieroglyphics as they are generally interpreted, and more picturesque than the pictures on the monuments. This description was not derived by magnetic thought-reading from the mind of the writer ; for the woman was giving an account of a spirit she had seen some time before, when the writer was not present. Every day, unlettered American "mediums" are reproducing, with exact fidelity to ancient types, superstitions supposed to have been forgotten for ages. It is remarkable, that, in France, the strange characters written by so-called spirits in dark sessions are frequently exact reproductions of ancient but well-known (usually Egyptian) mystical symbols, and, when so, almost always of obscene, blasphemous, and diabolical import. Moses, to cure the Israelites of the "Religion of Spiritualism," which they had learned in Egypt, found it necessary, not only to utterly ignore the fact of the soul's immortality, but also to make express laws against "trance-mediums." The Witch of Endor followed an illicit calling. Moses says, "There shall not be found among you any one . . . that useth divination . . . or is an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer." Isaiah says, "The spirit of Egypt shall fail in the midst thereof ; and Jehovah will destroy the counsel thereof : and the Egyptians shall seek to the idols, and to the charmers, and to them that have familiar spirits, and to the wizards ; and Jehovah will give them over into the hand of a cruel lord, and

a fierce king shall rule over them." It is written of Joseph's cup, "Is not this the silver cup in which my lord drinketh, and whereby indeed he divineth?" Joseph's divinings, and his dreamings, and his foretellings of future events, were things afterwards expressly prohibited under the law.

Isaac Taylor says,\* —

"Customs prevailed among the Etruscans which are unknown among the Aryan races, such as *the tracing descent by the mother's side, and the addiction to the Ugric practice of sorcery*. . . . The belief which the Etruscan monuments express is the fundamental truth which has been the great contribution of the Turanian race to the religious thought of the world,—the belief in the deathlessness of souls. The cultus which they serve is the worship of the spirits of ancestors, which is the Turanian religion. The creed of the Turanians was Animism. They believed that every existing thing, animate or inanimate, had its soul or spirit; that the spirits of the dead could still make use of the spirits of the weapons, ornaments, and utensils which they had used in life; and could be served by the spirits of their slaves, their horses, and their dogs, and needed for their support the spirits of those articles of food on which they had been used to feed. . . . The Turanian tombs are family tombs: the dead of a whole generation are deposited in the same chamber. . . . There have been three great civilized tomb-building races; one in Africa,—the Egyptians; one in Asia,—the Lydians and Lycians; and one in Europe,—the Etruscans. . . . Much evidence as to the essential identity of the Egyptian speech with the Ugric languages has been adduced by Klaproth. . . . Facts tend to prove that the Etruscans and Egyptians were of kindred races. . . . No ruins of any Etruscan temples exist. Not less significant is the absence of any priesthood, properly so called. The personages who discharged sacred offices among the Etruscans were not the teachers of the

\* *Etruscan Researches.* By Isaac Taylor. London: Macmillan and Co.  
1874.

people or the servants of the gods : they were rather channels of communication with the spirits of Nature and the souls of the departed. They were neither presbyters, priests, nor prophets, but, strictly speaking, *shamans*. [They were MEDIUMS.] The religion of the Etruscans was distinctly shamanistic. They were distinguished among the nations of ancient Europe as being the chief if not the sole cultivators of the arts of augury, sorcery, and necromancy. . . .

"Among all the Turanian races, some 'survival' or 'superstition' may be detected, which suffices to indicate *the former prevalence of a condition of tribal POLYANDRIA*. . . . Survivals indicating the former existence of such a state of society are found universally among the Turanian races : they existed among the Etruscans, the Lycians, the Lydians, and the Medes : they are still found among the Lapps, the Samojeds, the Ostiaks, the Mongols, the Kalmuks, the Tunguses, the Kirghiz, the Turcomans, the Nogais, the Koriäks, the Aleutians, and the Esquimaux : they exist among most of the Turanian hill-tribes of India, and among all the Mongoloid tribes of North America. Such indications of the ancient practice of *polyandria* are rare among Aryan and Semitic peoples, and, when they are found, they may generally be accounted for by some infusion of Turanian blood. It would seem that the Aryans and Semites had outgrown the polyandrous condition of society at a period not very distant from that at which the separation from the Turanian stem took place. . . . The primitive community of women is still more plainly indicated by another, but less frequent survival, — *the usage of tracing descent through the mother, instead of through the father, and of regulating either the inheritance of property, or the descent of the rights of chieftainship, in the female instead of in the male line*. . . . Among the Nairs, Kasisas, and other Turanian hill-tribes of India, property descends by the female line. Among the Iroquois and many other Mongoloid tribes of North America, this also is the rule. . . . Herodotus records that the Lycians, also a Turanian race, traced descent through the maternal line, to the entire exclusion of the paternal. . . . Herodotus informs us, that, among the Lydian damsels, public prostitution was considered a necessary

preliminary to marriage. From a chance phrase used by Plautus, it would appear that some not dissimilar custom prevailed, also, among the Etruscans. There can be no more certain evidence of a primitive primal polyandria than this singular survival, which was abhorrent to the Aryan instinct, but which, among the Lydians and Etruscans, must have been regarded as a sort of necessary and formal satisfaction of ancient tribal rights.

"In other respects, the position of the wife in Etruria was high. She was her husband's companion; at meals she took her place by his side at the same table; her children bore *her name*; her tomb was even *more splendid than that of her husband*. On the Lycian monuments, the honor done to the wife is equally conspicuous. Herein the Turanian analogy is followed, rather than the Aryan or the Semitic. *The exalted position of the wife in Rome, so different from her position in Athens, may be regarded as an inheritance from the Etruscans.*

"The Etruscans were conspicuously stubborn in temper, highly conservative in their disposition, and orderly in their habits. In this, also, there is an agreement with other Turanian races. The Turanian has none of the fickleness, versatility, and progressiveness, which are among the foremost defects and merits of the Aryan character. . . . It is not, perhaps, an unreasonable conjecture that *it was just the Turanian element incorporated by Rome which gave the Latin race its ultimate superiority over other Aryan nations*, and supplied the lacking element which was needed in the formation of a great ruling race. The fickle, emotional element of the Aryan character has almost always been an element of weakness in nations of pure Aryan blood. . . .

"Another element of ethnic affinity is the possession of the artistic faculty. This was developed to a surprising degree among the prehistoric Turanian occupants of the Aquitanian caves. It exists, also, among the modern Esquimaux. The Turanian nations are more especially characterized by their passion for vivid color. This is conspicuous in the ornamentation of Etruscan vases and tombs. The color is always brilliant, but never inharmonious. The primary colors are used

in the most daring manner ; but the effect is never grotesque or glaring. . . . The suggestion may, perhaps, be allowed, that the art of modern Europe owes much to the hereditary transmission of the Etruscan instinct for forms and color. Geographically, ancient Etruria is modern Tuscany. The blood of the mediæval Florentines was probably Etruscan, with but small alien intermixture. It was at Florence that the arts instinctively revived at the earliest possible moment after the European cataclysm. . . . It may almost be affirmed, that, beyond the area once occupied by the Etruscan race, no colorist of the highest rank has ever been born. We may, perhaps, attribute something of the facile power and genius of these great artists to *hereditary instinct*, re-appearing at last, irrepressibly, after its long eclipse."

Sir J. G. Wilkinson's native Aryan prejudices prevent him from ever seeing, — although the evidences of the fact constantly obtrude themselves upon him in the chosen line of his own special studies, — that in certain races, and at certain times, the women have had the supremacy over the men, holding the men (and the men holding themselves) to be "the weaker vessels." He nevertheless says, in the second volume of his book about the ancient Egyptians :—

" If the authority of Diodorus can be credited, women were indulged with greater privileges in Egypt than in any other country. He even affirms that part of the agreement entered into at the time of the marriage was, that the wife should have control over her husband, and that no objection should be made to her commands, whatever they might be ; but though we have sufficient to convince us of the superior treatment of women among the Egyptians, as well from ancient authors as from the sculptures that remain, it may fairly be doubted if those indulgences were carried to the extent mentioned by the historian,

or that command extended beyond the management of the house, and the regulation of domestic affairs. . . . In speaking of the duties of children in Egypt, Herodotus declares, that, if a son was unwilling to maintain his parents, he was at liberty to refuse, but that a daughter, on the contrary, was compelled to assist them, and, on refusal, was amenable to law. But we may question the truth of this statement."

Both Taylor and Wilkinson have the facts clearly before their minds; but neither of them takes in those facts in their full significance. The question is not an Aryan one of extraordinary privileges granted to women, but a Turanian one of female sovereignty, and of the correlative subordination of the men. Fabre d'Olivet,\* who wrote before any of the inscriptions on Egyptian monuments and Babylonian bricks were satisfactorily deciphered and translated, had no adequate basis to found his theories upon; but, with a faculty of insight superior to that of Taylor and Wilkinson, he saw things that Taylor and Wilkinson refuse to recognize, and stated results that are now verified by modern discoveries. Fabre d'Olivet is, however, himself led astray by the existing prejudices of his own race, and cannot believe that marriage originated otherwise than in contracts by which one man bound himself to one woman exclusively, and, reciprocally one woman to one man. He bases marriage, just as it has been almost always based in modern times and in Christian countries, on the "affinity theory;" that is, on mutual consent grounded in natural attraction

\* *Histoire Philosophique du Génie Humain.* Par Fabre d'Olivet. Paris, 1824.

and the recognized natural inter-adaptation of the parties to each other, each being the affectional complement and counterpart of the other; such mutual consent following upon a necessary prelude of courting and love-making, in which the fact of the "affinity" is authentically tested in respect to its genuineness. *No such theory was known to remote antiquity.* Fabre d'Olivet commits the error of placing the segregated sexual human couple at the beginning of the social evolution, instead of placing it, as he ought to have done, towards the end. Fabre d'Olivet looks, therefore, upon the epoch of female sovereignty, and of the political subjection of the men, as abnormal. The error of regarding the course and rut of human history as a continuous *fall* from a supposed original state of perfection that never existed, instead of regarding it as a continuous *progress* from an original state of disintegration and chaotic disorder towards such a state of perfection as is attainable by man, is one very hard to shake off. The golden age of humanity is not behind us, in the past: it is before us, in the future. Men and women were never so happy, or so well mated, as they are now; and, in the future, they will be happier and better mated than they are to-day. Things now regarded by us as intolerable defects in the existing marriage-relation, our ancestors would have looked upon as too trivial to demand special notice.

Fabre d'Olivet says that women, being weaker than men, and therefore more impressionable, take always the initiative in all movements of progressive civilization. To forecast, therefore, the immediate future, we must always, if we adopt his view, begin by studying

the existing thoughts and sentiments of the women. What the women are dreaming about to-day, the men will do to-morrow, or the day after. He says, that once upon a time, in the old prehistoric days, two Hermans (*head-men* of clans) stood facing each other, ready to engage in deadly combat. A woman sitting near by in a chariot, raising her eyes, saw before her a warrior of colossal stature, who said to her with a mighty voice, "Go down, Voluspa, and separate your husband and your brother, who are about to shed each other's blood. Tell them that I, the first Herman, the oldest hero of their clan, the conqueror of the swarthy races, stand ready to lead them, once again, against the dark-skinned peoples. I will march in a storm-cloud at the head of the warriors, and once again I will wet my spear with the blood of the enemy." The mission confided to the Voluspa was effectually accomplished. The chiefs heard and believed : they hastily harangued their clansmen, and the clansmen also believed. All started at once upon the expedition ; and every thing turned out as the Voluspa had foretold. After the victory, the Voluspa, seating herself under an oak-tree, became mysteriously and inexplicably affected by the rustling in the wind of the oak-leaves over her head, and cried out that the spirit of the Herman was upon her. The clansmen gathered around her to hear what she had to say. Her eyes turned upward a little beneath their lids ; then the lids drooped over her eyes ; then she became pale and white, and all her members became rigid : were it not for convulsive twitchings of her hands and feet, she would have presented the appearance of a lifeless

marble statue. A sentiment of religious awe ran contagiously from heart to heart among the assembled clansmen. Then the Voluspa slowly, rhythmically, and musically, *but with a man's voice*, uttered these words : " March onward, ye clansmen of Herman. Fulfil your glorious destinies. Forget not Herman, your oldest chief; and, above all, reverence Teut-Tad, the All-Father."\* Coincidently with that speech, a great nation was born, and also the arts of poetry and music.

The first result of the public worship that was organized to carry into effect the spirit of the above-mentioned revelations was to clothe the women with sovereignty, and to put the whole power of legislation into their hands. The faculty of interpreting the will of the ancestors was found to be possessed by a very great number of women. " Spiritual mediums " rose up everywhere ; and, through them, the men received communications from the dead, in the guise of laws to be religiously obeyed by the living. A college of priestesses organized itself, and took the destiny of the nation into its hands. This college decreed that families should no longer live on the complex plan of tribal marriage, but should be composed of groups clustered around individual women ; and, as a necessary part of this scheme, they decreed that homesteads should become fixed in place, and that lands belonging to homesteads should be definitely circumscribed. In short, these women established *polyandria*, and

\* We entertain a suspicion that it was the "All-Mother," not the "All-Father," who was thus proclaimed by the Voluspa. There is probably an *error here*.

instituted *landed property* vested in the women. It was on this occasion that "real estate" first became known among the children of men.

Unfortunately, the civilization initiated by the "mediums" could not rise above the moral and intellectual level of the "mediums" themselves. Not knowing how to rule by the truth, and determined, at all hazards, to maintain their empire, they ruled by falsehood and lying. Soon, Teut-Tad, who was at first the common father of all men, became a capricious tyrant, and the first Herman became a mere savage god of war. The new religion was at once transformed into an abject superstition. The ghost-gods, the spirits of the ancestors, became actuated by all the suspicious and jealous passions of the "mediums." Orders were received from the spirit-world to bury alive, or to slay on the altars, in honor of Teut-Tad and of Herman, such persons as threatened to undermine, whether by precept or example, the supremacy of the priestesses. From Sweden and Iceland to Sicily, from the Caspian Sea to the Atlantic Ocean, men and women were religiously put to death. From Europe, the practice of human sacrifice passed to Africa, and from Eastern Asia to Mexico. The religion of witchcraft, of necromancy, of "spiritual communications,"—by its nature allied, on the one side, to free-love and to a polyandric organization of society, and, on the other, to the profession of dangerous dogmas, and to bloody rituals of worship,—derived new virus from the rancors of wounded female vanity and alarmed female ambition. The disastrous results of the women's attempt, by *weakness, to perform the works of force, hung for*

centuries like a nightmare on the human race. No other superstition can be compared with this one of necromancy in the ability to hold, like a serpent, its victims motionless in its folds. As soon as a man really believes in witchcraft and in witches, every thing becomes to him an occasion for instinctive terror, and his intellect becomes paralyzed.

PLUTARCH — who, on account of his instinctive proclivity to note and record instances of Turanian "survivals," is a better authority in matters of the nature here investigated than he is in matters of direct chronological history — says, in his Life of Romulus,—

"The reason why Romulus and Remus left Alba to found the city of Rome was this : It had become necessary, on account of the great number of slaves and fugitives collected about them, either to see their affairs entirely ruined, if these should disperse, or with them to seek another habitation ; for the people of Alba refused to permit the fugitives to mix with them, or to receive them as citizens. . . . As soon as the foundation of Rome was laid, a place of refuge was opened in it for fugitives, which was called the temple of the Asylæan God. Here they received all that came, and would neither deliver up the slave to his master, the debtor to his creditor, nor the murderer to the magistrate, declaring that they were directed by the Oracle of Apollo to preserve the asylum from all violation. . . .

"In the fourth month after the building of the city of Rome, as Fabius informs us, the rape of the Sabine women was put in execution. Some say Romulus himself, who was naturally warlike, and persuaded by certain oracles that the Fates had decreed Rome to obtain her greatness by military achievements, began hostilities against the Sabines, and seized only thirty virgins, being more desirous of war than of wives for his people. *But this is not likely* ; for as he saw his city soon filled with inhabitants, very few of whom were married, the greater part

consisting of a mixed rabble of mean and obscure persons, to whom no regard was paid, and who were not expected to settle in any place whatever, the enterprise naturally took that turn ; and he hoped, that from this attempt, though not a just one, some alliance and union with the Sabines would be obtained, when it appeared that they treated the women kindly."

The interpretation of these historico-mythical details is more easy to inquirers of the present day, in the light of recently-discovered archæological facts, than it was to Plutarch. The companions of Romulus were men who ran away, took to the woods, escaped by any available method whatever, from the rigors of a government administered by she hell-cats, termagants, and viragos ; those rigors having become, in the process of time, intolerable. These runaways, establishing themselves in easily-defended fastnesses, distributed the lands surrounding them among themselves as "real estate," following out the lesson which the women had taught them. It was in this way that the title to "real estate" began to vest in men, to the exclusion of women, and to descend in the male, instead of the female line. The heads of the groups in this new society were males, and the members of the groups were also males. It was necessary, therefore, in order that the new society should become complete, that each male should steal a wife for himself from some neighboring tribe, and bring her home by force to the mountain fastness. The men did not fail to perform the special duty that devolved upon them. The case of Rome was not an isolated one. All over Europe, and all over Asia, men rose *against the women*, transferred the titles to land from

the women to themselves by actual force, dethroned the sovereign witch-women by whom they had been so long governed, and supplied themselves, with "CAPTIVE-WIVES." This new institution of the "captive-wife" gave occasion, in Europe, to the establishment of monogamy; in Asia, to that of polygamy. In some countries, the women defeated the men, and vindicated their supremacy: in others, the men were victorious; in yet others, the fortunes of war were doubtful, and compromises were made.

Plutarch says, in his Life of Theseus,—

"The war of the Amazons against Athens was no slight or womanish enterprise. . . . It is difficult, indeed, to believe (although Hellenicus affirms it) that the Amazons crossed the Cimmerian Bosphorus upon the ice; but that they encamped almost in the heart of Athens is confirmed by the names of places, and by the tombs of those that fell. There was a long pause and delay, before either army would begin the attack. . . . The battle was fought in the month Boëdromion, the day on which the Athenians still celebrate the feast called "Boëdromia." Clindemus, who is willing to be very particular, writes that the left wing of the Amazons moved towards what is now called the Amazonium, and that the right extended as far as the Pynx, near Chrysa; that the Athenians first engaged with the left wing of the Amazons, falling upon them from the Museum; and that the tombs of those that fell in the battle are in the street which leads to the gate called "Piriacæ," which is by the monument erected in honor of Chalcodon, where the Athenians were routed by the Amazons, and fled as far as the temple of the Furies; but that the left wing of the Athenians, which charged from the Palladium, Ardetus, and Lyceum, drove the right wing of the enemy to their camp, and slew many of them; that, after four months, a peace was concluded by means of the Amazon Hippolyte. This is what is most memorable in the story of the Amazons . . . and it is

not to be wondered, that, in accounts so very ancient, history should be uncertain."

It would appear, from this story, that, at some time in remote antiquity, the Turanian principle, represented by the Amazons, and the Aryan principle, represented by the Athenians, fought out their quarrel in actual pitched battle, in the streets of Athens; and that the Turanian principle was defeated by force of arms, and definitively put down. Things did not so fall out at Rome. The Romans, who were fugitives from neighboring Etruscan communities, did not succeed for several generations, in entirely shaking off the Etruscan yoke. In Athens, therefore, where the women were completely conquered, they were consigned to lives of utter seclusion; but in Rome, a compromise was reached, and the women retained the more valuable of their ancient prerogatives. These observations are in confirmation of the remark of Taylor, that "the exalted position of the wife in Rome, so different from her position in Athens, may be regarded as an inheritance from the Etruscans."

Plutarch says,—

"When the Sabines, after the war, became reconciled, conditions were obtained for the women, that they should not be obliged by their husbands to do any other work besides spinning. . . . Many honorable privileges were conferred upon the women, some of which were these: that the men should give them the way whenever they met them; that the men should not mention an obscene word, or appear naked, before them; and that, if a woman should kill any person, she should not be tried before the ordinary judges. . . . It is a custom still observed among the Romans, for the bride not to go over the threshold of

her husband's house herself, but to be carried over, because the Sabine virgins did not go in voluntarily, but were carried in by violence. Some add, that the bride's hair is parted with a spear, in memory of the first marriages being brought about in a warlike manner."

Sir John Lubbock says,—

"The custom of lifting the bride over the doorstep, which obtained among the Romans, exists now among the Redskins of Canada, the Chinese, and the Abyssinians."

In the course of the centuries, the Turanian women themselves recognized that their condition as sovereigns and tyrants over the men, entailing upon them the hatred of the men, was less desirable than that of the petted "captive-wives" of their Aryan neighbors. From this recognition, a new form of marriage sprang up. Multitudes of Turanian women, everywhere, acting individually, and of their own spontaneity, gave themselves as "captive-wives," with their property-rights, and all that they had, to such men as they preferred to obey as husbands. This they did without other motive than that of affection, and out of a regard to their own supposed interests. A peaceful revolution spread its waves gradually over a great part of Europe and Asia; and the status of the women became changed. This revolution was the prelude of another. The men, moved by the generosity of the women, entered into special contracts with them; the terms of each contract so running, that the woman gave up all her rights into the hands of her husband, and became his absolute "captive-wife;" and, at the same time, the man gave up all his rights into the hands of his wife,

and became her absolute "captive-husband." Thus, by means of these contracts, the fact that the man and the woman had reciprocally captured each other was recognized, and the marriage-relation took a form which involved the mutuality and equality of the parties contracting it.

A still more astonishing step in advance was made, subsequently, in Christian countries. The bride and groom, kneeling before the altar, and in the presence of the Creator and Preserver of all things, gave themselves unreservedly to each other, and for life, with solemn oaths; thus transforming the marriage-covenant into a religious sacrament. Marriage had, all along, in the older times, been accompanied by ceremonies, and often by ceremonies of a religious character; but never, except in Christian countries, has marriage assumed the form, in the full meaning of the word, of a veritable **SACRAMENT**. This is the loftiest ascension into the heaven of pure sentiment, that contracting men and women have ever yet been able to make.

The original "captive-wife" was no slave; for she retained the right to be lawfully rescued by her kinsmen, and also the right of insurrection. Her insurrection was punishable, if unsuccessful, as rebellion, but not as treason. She was held captive by the sole law of the strongest, and as a prisoner of war. Again: the woman who gave herself, by voluntary contract, to be a "captive-wife," was held by her contract only, of whose terms she had the same right to judge that her husband had (and her husband the same right that she had); and she could break the contract by accepting the penalties attached to a vio-

lation of it. She, also, was no slave. What is it to be a voluntary slave? It is to undergo a captivity that subsists not only in fact, but of acknowledged right also; which is legitimate through the legitimacy of the principle in which it is grounded; and which imposes upon the captive *a duty*—recognized as such by the slave himself—to remain a slave, and even, if necessary, to rivet his own chains by the exercise of virtues proper to slaves. The Christian wife becomes, through her own free act, by the tenor of the sacrament, the voluntary slave of her husband, and, reciprocally, the Christian husband becomes the voluntary slave of his wife.

The defect (if it be a defect) of Christian marriage is patent. It is this: no human ingenuity has ever yet sufficed to bring the terms of the contract, in its totality, as determined by the sacrament itself, within the limits of possible legislation.\* The definition of the wife's condition, as given in the English law-books, contains all the elements of a definition of domestic slavery. But the definition of the husband's status, as given in the same law-books, is that of a lord, not that of a slave. If English law should make the husband to be as much the slave of the wife as the wife is the slave of the husband, the entire civilization of England would, at once, become

\* "The husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church. . . . Therefore, as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in every thing. . . . We are members of *Christ's* body, of *his* flesh, and of *his* bones. For THIS cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. THIS IS A GREAT MYSTERY; but I speak concerning Christ and the church."—*EPH. v. 23-32.*

paralyzed. No Englishman, subjected by law to his wife in the same manner that his wife is legally subjected to him, could do English business. This difficulty is radical and insuperable. The sacramental ideal is utterly impracticable in law. It cannot be brought down out of the region of religious abstraction, and be legally embodied in life; and the impossibility does not flow from the perversity of the men, but inheres in the nature of things.

American legislation is more absurd than that of England. The laws of Massachusetts recognize the sacramental subjection of the wife to the husband, and make her his slave, calling on her to exercise towards him the virtues of a slave; and, at the same time, those same laws secure her in the separate enjoyment of her individual property, giving her the exclusive control of her own earnings, making her practically independent of her husband; while they maintain against the husband the duty of providing for the wife's support in a style conformable to her condition, and furnish the wife with opportunities to enforce her claims to the fullest extent by regular methods.

Life under the stipulations of the marriage sacrament *is experimentally possible*; but such life is not secular life. It belongs not to this world, and may be, perhaps, a foretaste of the world to come. It is like the life of monks and nuns, a religious life, and one outside of the *natural* condition of human existence on the earth.

It is written,—

“And Jehovah Elohim caused to fall a deep sleep (Heb. — *dm*) upon the collective man (Heb. — *Adam*); and he slept.

And (Jehovah Elohim) took one from his (*Adam's*) constituent principles (Heb. — *tzelo*, the rafter of a house, the rib of a man, or of a ship, any essential constructive element); and Jehovah Elohim built the constructive element which he took out from the man (*Adam*) into a woman (Heb. — *Asha*). And he brought her to the man (*Adam*), and the man (*Adam*) said, This time it is bone from my bones, and flesh from my flesh :\* in respect to this she shall be called woman (Heb. — *Asha*), because out of man (Heb. — *Aish*) she was taken. Upon this shall a man (*Aish*) leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave to his woman ; and they shall be one flesh. And they were both of them, the man and his woman, naked " (Heb. — *orm*, subtle, virtual, potential only, naked : *the snake* was, however, more virtual, potential, naked, *subtle—orm* —than they were); " and they were not ashamed."

We are translating as literally as we know how.

" *A deep sleep.*" An ecstatic trance, a magnetic slumber, full of dreams and inspirations, fell upon the collective man, upon Adam. Mankind, living in complete promiscuity, in utter ignorance of the very notion of marriage, underwent a religious transformation. A religious public opinion was formed among men. A distinction was drawn, involving an idea of marriage between the husband and wife; and the husband and wife "*were called by their names*" as such, in human language. This was the transition from no marriage at all to complex marriage.

" *For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife.*" The idea here expressed is Turanian, and not Aryan. It involves a declaration of the woman's superior right, and

\* The Bereshith does not say, "Bones from *Christ's* bones, and flesh from *Christ's* flesh." The version of Saint Paul is far in advance of the one given in the Bereshith.

of the man's duty to see to it that his woman and her immature children are properly supported and cared for. "Jehovah hateth putting away." The woman (*Asha*) makes no correlative counter-declaration : she does not say, "For this cause shall a woman leave *her* father, and *her* mother, and cleave unto *her* man." Thousands of years elapsed between the making of this speech of Adam, and the utterance of the correlative speech of Ruth, the Moabitess, who said, "Whither thou goest, I will go ; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge : thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God : where thou diest, will I die, and there will I be buried." And even this last speech is devoid of a recognition that the man's right in marriage is parallel with that of the woman ; for these words were spoken, not by a wife to her husband, but by a widow to her mother-in-law. The Bereshith is either utterly unintelligible, or else absurd, to the average Aryan reader, for the reason that the Aryan reader instinctively reads into it ideas that were not at all present to the mind of the writer of it, who describes, not an Aryan, but an exclusively Turanian, phase of society.

It is also written,—

"And the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was a desire to the eyes, and that the tree was to be desired for causing to understand, and she did eat, and she gave also to her husband with her, and he did eat ; and the eyes of both of them were opened, and they knew that they were naked."

What was this forbidden fruit ? It was no apple. The serpent, "the most naked of all the beasts of the

field," said to the woman, "God doth know, that, in the day of your eating of it, your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing" (Heb.—*ido, handling*, knowing by personal and practical experience) "good and evil." The woman, who always takes the initiative in the march of civilization, was tempted, by her aspiration for independence, to assume the responsibility of her own actions, to live from herself, to take her destinies into her own hands, to become, "like the gods," self-centred. The man, under her direction, was willing to take his share in the responsibility. The (so-called) *fall* of *Asha* and of *Aish* was a fall upwards, an advance of civilization. *Asha* became *Eva*, the *responsible* "mother of all the living." \*

It is written, moreover,—

"And the man said to Jehovah Elohim, The woman whom thou gavest me to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat."

A naval officer of very high rank once told the writer of this paper, over a bottle of champagne, the following story, but without vouching for its complete authenticity. An illustrious American commodore, being without an official chaplain, and desiring to have Sunday services on board his ship, concluded to conduct them himself. He assembled the officers and sailors on the quarter-deck, reverentially took off his cap, laid it down, opened the Bible at the third chapter of Genesis,

\* "When E-va shall have become A-ve, the human race will have been redeemed." — BAADER.

and began to read. When he came to the passage we have now under consideration, he stopped, laid down the Bible, put on his cap, drew his sword, and said, "If I thought I had a drop of that old sneak's blood in me, I would let it out with this sword. A man who would go back on a woman is not fit to be the father of the human race." Then, in token of his firm faith that he had not a single drop of Adam's blood in his veins, he put back his sword into its scabbard. After that, he again took off his cap, took up the Bible, and went on with the services. Now the brave commodore had more of the old Adam in him than he thought. Adam did not blame himself for being tempted; neither did he blame Eve for tempting him. It was in the nature of both of them to do just what they did; and Adam knew it. Adam was no sneak. He never went back on Eve. Nobody has any call to be ashamed of him. The main force of the passage is to be found in the emphasis that ought to be laid on the pronoun, *thou*. Adam said, "The woman whom *THOU* gavest to be with me, she did tempt me," &c.

It is written, furthermore,—

"And Adam knew Eve, his wife; and she conceived, and bare Cain (Heb.—*Kin*, property, possession); and she said, I have possessed (Heb.—*kanithi*, I have gotten, I have acquired) a man, the personality of Jehovah."

All this is distinctly Turanian. The personality of Cain is the symbol of the original institution of property; and property was originally instituted by the

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men, of that power which in its essential  
self-centred and limitless. he name Kai  
the forms Khan, King, became in later time  
of royalty among the Turania ns. We read  
fourteenth chapter of Genesis, that "Abram  
the king of Sodom, I have lift up my hand  
Lord, the most high God (Heb. — Elion, a g.  
worshipped in Tyre and Sidon), — he possessor ()  
*knlh*, the proprietor, the owner in fee-simple) oft  
and earth, that I will not receive from thee a.  
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mal conditions of human society: it is  
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woman, who proclaimed it as the manifestation, among men, of that power which in its essential nature is self-centred and limitless. The name Kain, under the forms Khan, King, became, in later times, a title of royalty among the Turanians. We read, in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, that "Abram said to the king of Sodom, I have lift up my hand unto the Lord, the most high God (Heb.—*Elion*, a god then worshipped in Tyre and Sidon), *the possessor* (Heb.—*knh*, the proprietor, the owner in fee-simple) of heaven and earth, that I will not receive from thee any thing that is thine." It is a remarkable trait in Abram's character, manifesting the liberality of his sentiments, that he should not only be willing to swear by a Canaanitish god, the planet Saturn, whose orb is the furthest removed from the earth, but should also be willing to take his oath in the presence of Melchizedek, king of Salem, "priest of Elion," and pontiff of Sodom and Gomorrah.

These remarks and citations might be almost indefinitely extended; but our pages afford no space for a detailed commentary on the Book of Genesis.

The sacramental marriage, whether sanctioned or not sanctioned by positive law, finds no ground to stand upon in the Bereshith; and, as *sanctioned by law*, it finds no ground to stand upon in the New Testament. The Master said, "Swear not at all;" and no exception in favor of the marriage-oath is made. Sacramental marriage is outside of the normal conditions of human society: it is supernatural; and the jurisdiction over it belongs solely to the *Church*, to the absolute exclusion of the State. Un-

der the Jewish system, a man could go to the gate of his city, and there, in the presence of the elders, by the ceremony of having his ear bored through with an awl, constitute himself the voluntary slave of another man. Under the Christian dispensation, no man can rightfully make himself, by any process cognizable before the civil courts, a voluntary slave. The Christian has duties which he owes to his Maker and to his Saviour; and those duties, in order that they may remain valid, require the continued possession, on his part, of the natural faculties and abilities with which his Creator endows him. Rights and duties are correlative. There are no rights without duties, and no duties without rights. If a man abdicate his natural rights, he abdicates his ability to perform the duties he owes his Maker; and that is the precise thing which no Christian is competent to do. No man can abdicate his duties. No man can rightfully repudiate his own conscience; neither can he, by any foregone act, mortgage his conscience in the future. He can, in his contracts, mortgage *things*, and, if he fail to keep his contract, abandon the *things* mortgaged; but he cannot rightfully mortgage *his person*. "Real" contracts are lawful; but "personal" contracts, made under the sanctions of civil law, are unlawful to Christians. Every Christian is a member of "the mystical body" of Christ. "He is Christ's, and Christ is God's." The personality of a Christian is not his own to mortgage. Sacramental marriage, *existing under the sanction of civil law*, is anti-Christian. The military oath whereby an enlisting soldier binds himself to become, for a term of

years, and within defined limits, the voluntary slave of his military superiors, is anti-Christian. The contract of debt, wherein the debtor mortgages his own body as a guaranty for the payment of money, is anti-Christian. Imprisonment for debt, wherever it exists, is a relic of barbarism. The divorce of the State from the Church involves an absolute withdrawal of legal sanction from all contracts that are strictly "personal" in their nature.

The efforts of Massachusetts legislation to reconcile this world with the world to come — by the mixture of incongruous things, that refuse to mix, for the very reason that they are incongruous — have led to curious results. It is a fact, that Massachusetts law clothes the relation of single men to their kept-mistresses with all the real attributes of legal marriage. The parties make their own contract for a union dissoluble at will ; and the State recognizes the contract by legally regulating the conditions and the consequences of it. In the seventh section of the seventy-second chapter of the General Statues of Massachusetts, legal provision is made for coercing the father of a bastard child to assist the mother in maintaining it. By the second section of the ninety-first chapter, a bastard, or its lawful representatives, is made to inherit from the mother and maternal ancestors ; and, by section third, the mother (and not at all the father) inherits from the bastard. Thus the bastard belongs in every way to the mother, and in no way to the father. Furthermore, since the woman does not deed away her liberty and her personality in *any* contract of sacramental marriage, or in *any* legal

simulacrum of such contract, she retains all her property rights. The domicile is hers, not the man's. Whatever watches, other jewelry, pianos, furniture, or the like, the man gives her are hers ; and, if she quarrel with her man, he cannot recover back the presents he has made her. Of course, she has no claim upon the property of the man, but whatever her man gives her, by putting it into her domicile, belongs to her ; and her earnings otherwise acquired belong also to her. He has no claim on her earnings, unless she gives them to him ; and conversely, &c. The man gives his woman her dowry at or before the moment of marriage, and at subsequent times as she may prevail upon him, not at his death. She neither inherits from him, nor he from her, except by will. This is the precise form of marriage that the marriage-reform agitators are contending for. They aspire to a new marriage-relation, in which (1) the contract shall be determinable at will ; (2) the property of the household shall remain with the woman at the termination of the marriage ; (3) the children shall belong to the mother only ; and (4) the mother and children shall have a definite status sanctioned by law. We are informed that these four are the points made by such of the free-lovers as go for a transformation, and not for the abolition, of marriage.

This form of marriage obtains, to a considerable extent, in the community as it stands to-day ; and it would obtain still more largely, were it not for laws which have been expressly enacted against fornication, and, especially, were it not for the apparently

invincible persuasion of all Aryan women, that  
nian marriage is, by its inherent nature, inc  
disreputable. But what would the courts do,  
case that exceptional young couples, of unimp  
ble standing and reputation, should rise up, and  
the right to live together on the Turanian plan  
things are possible in New England, and in the  
teenth century.) Especially, what would the  
do, if these young couples should base their  
on strictly religious grounds? The eleventh :  
ment of the Massachusetts Constitution says  
subordination of any one sect or denomination  
other shall ever be established by law." Now,  
sect believes, or if many sects believe, that r  
requires marriage to be for life, and another se  
lieves, on religious and moral grounds, that  
wicked to put all people, whatever may be the  
gious convictions, under the alternative of eith  
marrying at all, or of marrying for life, where  
constitutionality of the law which subordinat  
religious belief of one sect to the religious beli  
other sects, and forces members of one deno  
tion, under severe penalties, to marry in :  
against which they have conscientious scr  
With what show of justice could the courts p  
with fine and imprisonment, parties living in :  
way that fornication and bastardy, through th  
ample, become respectable? There are, pr  
many couples now living together in Boston, w  
ready to make with each other the contract of  
mental marriage, subject to ecclesiastical per  
*but are unwilling to enter upon it, if it is to be*

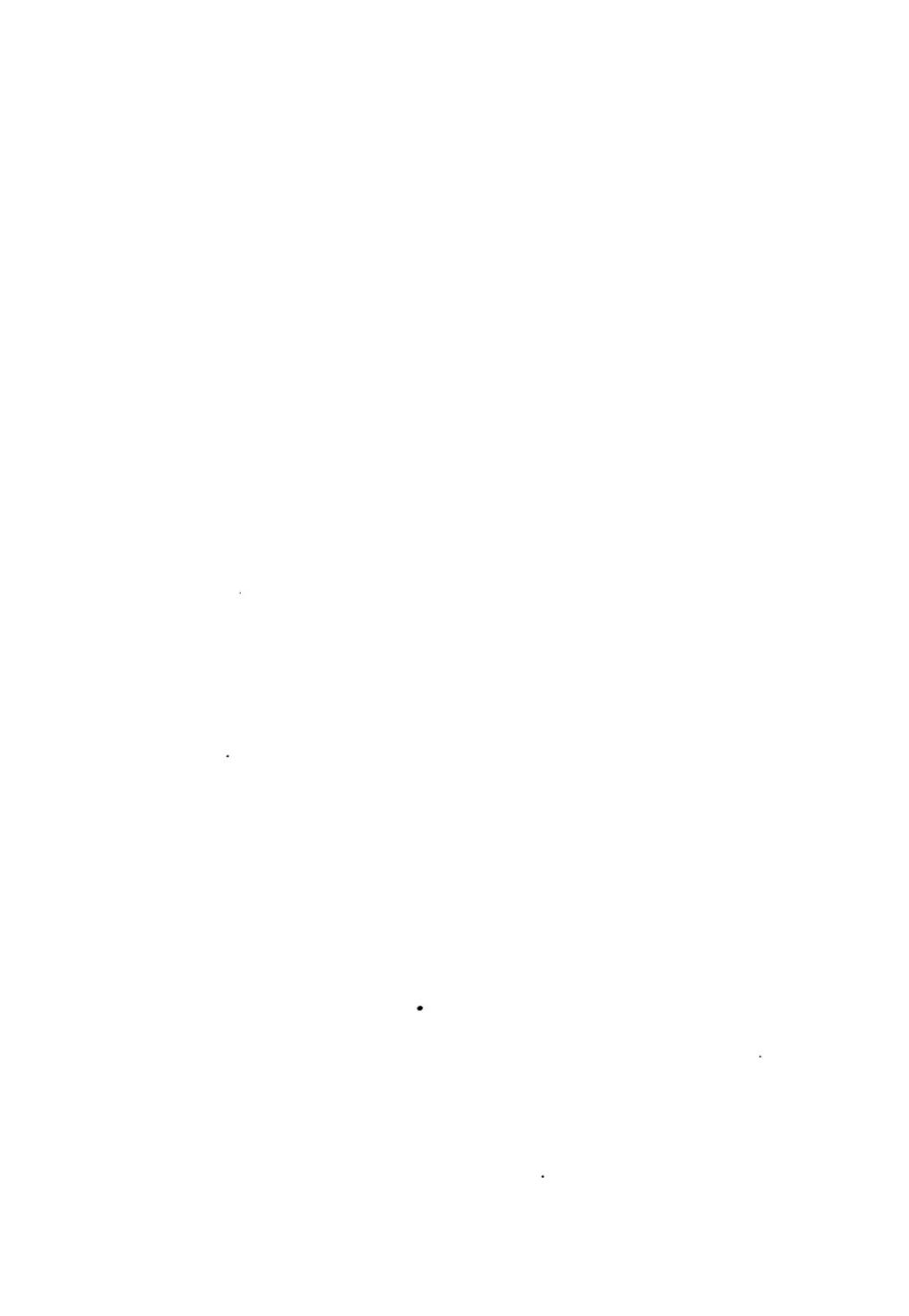
preted and enforced by the secular courts.\* Many couples affirm that the secular penalties, so far from securing the permanency of marriages, are the main cause of the existing frequency of divorce.

We do not profess ourselves competent to answer all these questions. We have our own solutions, such as they are, which we may, at some future time, give to the public; but we refrain from offering them here. We take the liberty, however, in concluding our remarks, to draw attention to the following facts. The silent logic of actual events, and the spoken logic of the reformers, are undermining the New-England traditional theory of marriage; the existing facilities for divorce give impetus to the destructive movement; the women are beginning to hold their property separately, in their own hands, and are becoming every day more and more independent of the men; and the civilization of Massachusetts is now drifting, not secretly and slowly, but noisily and rapidly, in the Ugro-Finnic direction.

\* "No man is justified by the law in the sight of God" (*Gal.* iii. 2). "As many as are of the works of the law are under the curse" (*Gal.* iii. 10). "But Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law" (*Gal.* iii. 13). "Christ hath abolished in his flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments contained in ordinances" (*Eph.* ii. 15). "Avoid foolish questions . . . and strivings about the law, for they are unprofitable and vain" (*Tit.* iii. 9). "Dare any one of you, having a matter against another, go to law before the unjust, and not before the saints? Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world? . . . Know ye not that ye shall judge angels? . . . I speak to your shame. . . . Now therefore there is utterly a fault among you, because ye go to law one with another" (*1 Cor.* vi. 1-7). "Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law? . . . Having begun in the Spirit, are ye now made perfect by the flesh?" (*Gal.* iii. 2-3). "Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth" (*Rom.* x. 4). "Whosoever among you is justified of law is fallen from grace" (*Gal.* v. 4).



ADDRESS  
OF  
THE INTERNATIONALS.



**NOTE.**—The Boston Section, No. 1 (French-speaking), of *The Working-People's International Association*, detailed a committee, in the latter part of the year 1872, consisting of "citizens Gruber, Sandoz, Greene, Prand, Coquard, and Jotterand," to draw up an address, explaining and defending the distinctive principles of the society. The committee attended to their duty, drew up the address, sent it to the headquarters of the association, and, after an interval of many weeks, received it back again, but covered all over with notes and observations. The changes recommended by the chiefs of the society were incorporated into the text; and the address was read before the New England Labor Reform League, at its regular convention for the year 1873. It was afterwards published by the Co-operative Publishing Company. Although the address was the work of many hands, yet, as the present writer saw his way clear to sign it, and finally did sign it, and now deems it worthy of being preserved in some more permanent shape than that of a loose pamphlet, it is here given as a sequel to the foregoing articles.

W. B. G.



## P R E F A C E.

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THE WORKING-PEOPLE'S INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION as, from the very beginning of its existence, naturally shrouded self in mystery. Whenever there has been any thing to be hid, or shown, in the way of self-glorification, the society has only appeared to be weak in influence; but whenever there has been any thing to be done, in the way of upheaving the nations, then, on the contrary, kings, statesmen, and prelates have turned pale at the sight of the energy displayed by it, and in view of the real power it has wielded, and continues to wield. And yet the International is not at all a secret society. Its statutes, and the proceedings of its congresses, are printed in pamphlets that have been distributed, not by thousands, but by hundreds of thousands, perhaps by millions. The key of the contradiction is this: Many of its more energetic members work under the scrutiny of despotic governments, and beneath the shadow of the knout, the hangman's halter, and the guillotine: display of themselves, and of their own merits, would be most certain death. They are, therefore, condemned to work, not for office, not for popular applause, but, in silence and in darkness, for the aim of their endeavor, which is the Social evolution. They die, their names pass out of the memories of men, and the Revolution advances over their dead bodies. Besides, the association has the faculty, in the presence of anger, of quarrelling with itself, of lapsing into utter anarchy, of going completely out of existence, and of then re-appearing, in its original strength, at the first call of its occult and continually changing leaders.

Of course, the Co-operative Publishing Company are incompetent to give any really adequate history of the International Association. They know little, or rather nothing, of secrets that are hidden from the eyes of Bismarck, M. Thiers, Cardinal Antonelli, and their practised spies. In matters of mere fact, which baffle the ingenuity of the French, German, and Russian police, the Co-operative Publishing Company give up investigating. Nevertheless, the following particulars may be confidently stated, although we are obliged to begin our narration very far back.

The Order of the Knights of the Temple (for it is with the famous half-priest, half-soldier, TEMPLARS, that we shall have to commence) was originally established at Jerusalem, in the year 1118 (some say in the year 1100) by Hugues de Paganis, and was confirmed by the pope in 1146. It was not, however, until about eighty years later, that the Order received from the Council of Troyes its definitive rules of discipline. Towards the end of the first crusade, and while the second was being preached in Europe by Saint Bernard, the Templars in the Holy Land, where their allegiance to the Church had become somewhat weak, fell in with a widely-extended mystical association which taught, or affected to teach, both to the Christians and to the Saracens, indiscriminately, but to adepts only, secrets of hermetic science, and especially of social organization, which date back, or were affirmed to date back, far beyond the times of Abraham,—to the building of the Great Pyramid of Egypt. The Templars were thus—or, at the least, they held themselves to be—the successors and representatives, by traditional initiation, of the builders of the Great Pyramid of Egypt. This is the origin of the affiliation in which we always find the Templars, on the one side with the occult practical building-corporations of the middle ages, and, on the other, with the traditional secret societies of speculative social-architects. The Great Pyramid, with its lower, middle, and upper chambers, became their symbolic Temple. Solomon's Temple, although it had no lower, middle, and upper chamber, was an analogical representative of the Great Pyramid of Memphis, and now serves, although it was long ago destroyed, as a figurative sym-

bol of it. The Tower of Babylon was an opposition temple, anterior to both the others, and built from an opposite plan.

In 1307, Phillippe-le-Bel (King of France) and Clement V. (the pope), jealous of the wealth, power, and influence of the Templars, conspired to destroy the Order. The Knights were, the greater number of them, suddenly arrested, cast into dungeons, and there tortured. The Order was dissolved, and its property confiscated. The grand-master, Jaques Bernard de Molay, was burned alive in Paris, near the *Pont Neuf*, in the year 1313; and, while dying, he cited the king and the pope to appear and answer him, within a year and a day, at the bar of Almighty God. (The king and the pope both died within the year.) Those of the Knights who survived, became exiles without property, without the right of assembling, and without recognized influence; but they secretly preserved their traditions, and transmitted them to posterity.

Long before the destruction of the Order, the English corporations of operative stone-masons had been placed by the king, Richard-Cœur-de-Lion, under the protection of the grand-master of the Templars; and it was at about the same time that the socialistic ideas of the earlier Egyptians, of Moses, and of Pythagoras, began to infiltrate themselves among the trades-societies of European working-men. After the burning of Jaques de Molay, such of the Knights as succeeded in escaping from France took refuge in an island of Scotland named Mull, where some of their brethren had preceded them, and had partially re-organized the Order. In 1314, Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, fused together the Order of the Templars, the Chapter of Herodom of Kilwinning, and the Scottish corporations of operative stone-masons. The soul of the Templar organization found here a fitting body. The combined association took the name of Freemasons. Centuries later, giving opportunity by their secret organizations for the unfolding, in germ, of the new society which has taken the place of the feudal society, the successors of these Freemasons furnished the mystic levers by which England, America, and France were upheaved at the time of the English, American, and French Revolutions; and also the lever by which Germany was upheaved, when it finally rose, *en masse*, against the despotism of the first Bonaparte.

The autocracy of the kings and priests having been effectually emasculated by the great revolutions, the *money power* rose gradually in its place, and substituted itself for it as the ruler of the world. The successors of the Templars, finding the Masonic Association to be adapted to the overthrow of established iniquities, rather than to the nipping in the bud of rising dangers which had not yet unfolded their full proportions, organized the "Association of the Just" for Germany, "Young Italy" and the "Carbonari" for Italy, "Young Europe" for France and the rest of the Continent, and a multitude of other like societies, too numerous to mention. These societies were immediately persecuted by the police, and excommunicated by the pope. They were forced to hold their meetings in secret places, were prohibited from making any open missionary efforts, and were thus prevented from getting recruits among the people.

The spirit of the Templars once again found itself to be a disembodied soul, with no material organ through which to manifest itself. Masonry was found to be inadequate; and the new transfigured institution of the future existed not as yet. And then it was, that the period for meditation, as divorced from all action, came. The disembodied soul perfected itself by pure thought. The history of all epochs of the world was studied, the nature and destiny of the existing civilization were determined, the future was prophetically gauged by scientific insight, and solutions were prepared, beforehand, for the problems of the coming age.

Meanwhile, the rise of the money-power had occasioned a correlative and growing uneasiness among the laboring class in the great cities of Europe, to whom the battle of life began to present itself, every day more and more, under the aspect of a disastrous defeat. Trades-organizations for resistance to employers sprang up everywhere; and their members were counted by thousands. Unfortunately, these organizations (except in some parts of England, and in the great cities of France, the American proletariat being then non-existent as yet) were, almost exclusively, composed of men and women who had been cramped, and whose fathers and mothers had been cramped, *from generation to generation*, by excess of physical toil, and

by defective education. The divergency of their sentiments and material interests arrayed them against each other, and gave them over, helpless, into the hands of the money-power. The great mass of the insurgent people was, throughout Europe, a mere body ; and this body yearned everywhere, with many groanings, for an adequate soul.

At the last, the disembodied, deep-thoughted, and far-perceiving soul of the Templars, and this tumultuous and soulless—but vigorous and mighty—body of the insurgent people, found each other ; and then the world-embracing Working-People's International Association was created in a single day. No man can claim the merit of having made it: it came of itself. No man can destroy it. It may dissolve a hundred times ; but, every time it dissolves, it will crystallize anew. Its soul is immortal, and its body can never be annihilated: it is fore-ordained that it shall live under a thousand successive names. Multitudes of labor-organizations which never heard of it, and of which it never heard, are natural, integral parts of it. It is vital in every member, and will live forever, or, at the least, until the wrongs of man upon this earth, which is God's footstool, are righted. History repeats itself. The identical spirit transmitted to it by regular initiation, and by authentic succession, now works in the entire proletariat of the world, that worked formerly in the insurgent Hebrews, when, with arms in their hands, and marching by fives, they broke forth from the bondage of the Pharaonic civilization. The same egg which hatched out the Hebrew commonwealth, the religion of Islam, and Christianity,—those three daughters of the Bible,—has also, in these latter days, hatched out the transfigured proletariat of the world.

The mere outward, material history of the special, now-existing International Association, giving the epoch of its latest outbirth, the record of its congresses, its declarations of principle, and the like, may be purchased for twenty-five or thirty cents, probably for less, from the corresponding secretary of any regular section of the society.

The following paragraphs are taken from a pamphlet which treats of the COMMUNE OF PARIS, and may, perhaps, prove interesting to the reader :—

"The French word *commune* is the equivalent of our English [redacted] word, 'town.' The word *communiste* may denote, in French, [redacted], either (1) an advocate of the doctrine that women and property [redacted] ought to be held in common, or (2) an upholder of the principle [redacted] of municipal self-government. The Commune of Paris [redacted] fought, in its recent great fight, not for a community of women [redacted] and goods, but for municipal self-government. It was well [redacted] known both at Paris and Versailles, while the fighting was [redacted] going on, that M. Thiers could have made peace with the insurgents, at any moment, by simply guaranteeing to the city of [redacted] Paris an amount of municipal liberty equal to that which has [redacted] always been enjoyed by the city of Boston. This fact, which [redacted] cannot with any plausibility be denied, and which, probably [redacted] will not be denied, suffices, of itself alone, to put the merits [redacted] of the dispute between the Commune of Paris and the Versailles [redacted] Government, in its true light, and to fully expose the calumniou [redacted] misrepresentations of the Versailles party.

"We are of the opinion, that, taking fighting as it rises, the [redacted] Commune made a passably good fight. We are especially [redacted] proud of the heroic women with whom the honor of arms has [redacted] definitively rested.

"We, nevertheless, take the liberty to recommend the Commune [redacted] to be more circumspect, hereafter, in the matter of summary [redacted] executions. Better things were expected of the Commune [redacted] than of the Versailles Government; for the Commune represents [redacted] advancing civilization, while the Versailles Government represents [redacted] the commercial, industrial, and financial feudalism [redacted] of the present and the past. It will never do to follow every [redacted] examples, and meet murder with murder. The execution [redacted] of spies and traitors, and the use of petroleum for incendiary [redacted] purposes,\* are perfectly justifiable under the law of war; but [redacted] the civilized world does not look with approval, and ought not [redacted] to look with approval, upon the military execution of priests [redacted] and other non-combatants. We know (or, at least, we have [redacted]

\* "We should like to know whether the Union Army, acting under [redacted] orders, did, or did not, ever set fire to any thing in the valley of the Shenandoah, and whether shells loaded with incendiary composition were, or were not, thrown from our ships and batteries into the city of Charleston."

been informed) that the Commune offered to exchange the Archbishop of Paris for Blanqui, and that the offer was not accepted. This fact (if it be a fact) consigns the memory of M. Thiers to the execration of posterity; but it does not excuse the Commune.

“The existing French Assembly was elected, not at all to govern France, but to consult on the possibilities of a reconciliation between France and Prussia, and also, if advisable, to conclude and authenticate a treaty of peace. The Assembly has, therefore, no lawful governmental powers. When the treaty of peace between France and Prussia was signed, the mandate of the Assembly expired. The government of M. Thiers is a government of usurpers. Consequently, every disarmed prisoner of war, male or female, shot in cold blood after a combat, or transported to a sickly penal colony, in pursuance of M. Thiers’s policy, whether sentenced or not sentenced by court-martial, is, from a legal point of view, simply a person assassinated. And the moral aspect of the question is coincident with the legal aspect. If the Communists committed excesses (and it seems they were human), they did so in defending themselves, their families, and their homes, against thieves and usurpers. Thiers fought to confiscate the liberties, and control the money, of the people of Paris; and Paris fought in defence of the natural rights of its own people for self-rule.

“Three times the heroic people of Paris have been cheated out of their Republic: once in the great Revolution, afterwards in 1830, and again in 1848. To-day the scales are still oscillating, and the result is yet undetermined. In the next great fight, or in the fight after the next, or in the next after that, the Republic will prevail.

“Now there are three holy cities, not two of them only,—JERUSALEM, ROME, PARIS. But the holiness of Paris is virtual merely as yet. The religion of humanity reaches higher than the Commune and the International Labor Union seem to think. Paris is *Bar-Isis, Parisis, Paris*. It is the sacred boat of Isis, and bears to-day the destinies of the world.”—THE CO-OPERATIVE PUBLISHING COMPANY, PRINCETON, MASS.



## ADDRESS OF THE INTERNATIONALS.

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THE title of the International Association is sometimes rendered, in English, in translated documents, as follows, "*Workingmen's International Association*;" and it is wrongly affirmed, in view of this fact, that the International Association of Working-People aims mainly to secure the welfare of the masculine element among the working-people, leaving the interests of the women at the mercy of the men. Many persons, misled by a simple error of translation, entirely mistake the aim of the association.

It appears to be the dream of many otherwise estimable working-men, that the men ought to be able, now and in the future, to employ women in men's workshops, paying the women reduced prices, because their labor is female labor, and to sell the products at full prices, thus furthering their own interests at the expense of the interests of the women. While making great outcries against oppressions alleged to be practised by capitalists, these working-men think it right to treat women just as they themselves complain of being treated by capitalists. Some of these working-men, and others like them, and also many persons actuated by philan-

thropic motives, are now, or at the least have been very recently, agitating strenuously for a ten-hour law, which shall prohibit, among other things, contracts made with full-grown women of lawful age, under which contracts those women may work, at wages, more than ten hours per day. But it is obvious, first, if widows having children to support are put under restrictions to which widowers in like circumstances are not subjected, that there thence follows inequality, and consequently injustice; and, secondly, that a widow may easily find herself in a position, where, by working eleven hours a day, she can make both ends just meet, but where, if she can count on the wages of ten hours only, she and her children will be in distress. It is urged, in answer to these objections, that, since it is the inalienable function of the women to bear children, the duty naturally devolves upon the political authorities to prevent a degeneration of the Massachusetts breed of human beings, and to distinctly prohibit, in view of that object, all overworking of themselves by the Massachusetts women. But this answer is captious, and for the following reason. The proposed law is not general, but is to bear (at the least, according to the printed programme of a year or so ago) on those women only who work for certain firms and corporations, and upon certain specially enumerated articles of raw material, leaving the great majority of Massachusetts women—mistresses of households, domestic servants, women who take in work at their own homes, or go out to work by the day in the homes of other women—without legislative restriction, and

~~free~~ to unfit themselves, by overwork, for bearing proper children. The agitation of the scheme is, however, utterly futile; since if the law should pass both houses of the legislature, and be signed by the governor, it would, sooner or later, be thrown out by the courts as unconstitutional, void, and of no effect; because it proposes violations of the liberties guaranteed to every individual of the people by the Massachusetts Bill of Rights.

If, under color of benevolence and extreme generosity, the men could wipe out the liberties of the women this year, annulling the rights guaranteed to them in the Constitution of Massachusetts, they might be able, at some future time, in furtherance of their own selfish interests, to reduce the women to a servile condition.

The International Association has no part or lot in these heresies. The title of the association is this, *L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*; and the word *travailleurs* is falsely rendered, when it is translated working-men, instead of being translated, as it ought to be, "toilers," without distinction of sex. Working-women are "toilers," or working-people.

The women of Massachusetts work, it is true, too many hours; but it is not expedient to better their situation by depriving them of their already acquired constitutional liberties, thereby affirming, in effect, that they have no rights which a majority of the adult males are bound to respect. Some other process must be devised.

"The General Statutes" of the International enunciate the first fundamental principle of the association in the words following:—

*"The emancipation of the laboring-people ought to be the work of the laboring-people themselves."*

Many working-men prefer the expression, "labor-reform," to the expression, "the emancipation of the laboring-people." But the expression, "labor-reform," is objectionable in some respects, inasmuch as it is vague, and inasmuch as capitalists, and so-called social-science people, with one eye fixed on material progress, and the other intent on the creation of new privileges, devise schemes of labor-reform that are not at all in the interest of the laboring-people. The formula of the International, which simply proposes "the emancipation of the working-people by the working-people themselves," lends itself to no ambiguity. The International does not expect, but desires, and would welcome, the aid of the non-working classes in the emancipation of the laboring-people. The working-people must, however, take and hold the initiative of the movement; and, in order that the initiative may not pass into the hands of the capitalists and sentimentalists, the society has provided and decreed, by a special rule, that three-fourths of the members of each and every section of the International shall be, to the exclusion of employers,\* practical working-people earning their living with their hands, and working [or waiting for work] at their respective trades. "Who would be free, himself must strike the blow."

#### Amelioration of the condition of the working-

\* The International regards as employers all persons, who, although they themselves work, employ and pay other toilers; also foremen, and other toilers who represent the interest of employers.

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people is not exactly the emancipation of the working-people. The amelioration of the condition of the poorer classes, through the exercise of alms-giving and charity, means a postponement of the emancipation of the working-classes, and a perpetuation of existing privileges. The privileged classes are, without doubt, disposed to alleviate individual cases of suffering ; for it is not to be presumed that they have no natural sympathy for the human beings they employ : nevertheless, as a general thing, they are not in favor of the economic emancipation, at the expense of their own privilege, of the entire working-class. The reform called for by the International Association is organic, and naturally incapable of being brought about by mere acts of charity.

Some working-men who are out of all solidarity with the International hold that the emancipation of the working-people should be brought about, not at all by the working-people themselves, but solely by the capitalists, the chiefs of industry, the speculative merchants and financiers, the bank-directors, and other privileged personages of the existing social order, acting as church-members. A clergyman, speaking recently at a labor-meeting, and with the approval of many labor-reformers, maintained that justice to the laborer must be the result, if it is to come at all, of a spread of that supernatural life which was transmitted from the Eternal Father to our Lord Jesus Christ, from our Lord to the apostles, and, through them, to the Christian Church ; intimating that no true labor-reform is possible until the capitalists, the great real-estate owners, and the chiefs

of industry, who would seem to be more receptive of that life than the common people, are converted to Christ. He said that the privileged classes are superior, in intellectual capacity and in vigor of action, to the laboring-classes, and that the only well-grounded hope for the working-people is in the conversion of privileged sinners, and in the emancipation of the working-people from poverty by those converted sinners. The reverend gentleman failed, however, to explain why it is, although the life of the Father, through the Son, has been leavening the world for 1873 years, that the capitalists and real-estate owners still remain unconverted to the cause of the people. He also failed to encourage the working-people in the hope of any conversion of the more favored classes in the immediate, or any reasonably near, future. He furthermore omitted to quote and explain the passage in which Saint Paul says, "Ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called: but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are." The reverend gentleman seemed to think it was exactly the other way. The opinion of Saint Paul commends itself as the better one of the two: at all events, it is more in conformity with that of the International. The International holds that many of the things *which now are*, are condemned, and will be brought

to nought, by things which are not as yet, but which ought to be. It has been, and is now, the fixed opinion of some advanced thinkers, that it is, upon the whole, and as a general thing, much easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a member of the privileged classes to enter the kingdom of heaven.

"The General Statutes" state the second fundamental principle of the association in the words following :—

*"The efforts of the working-people ought not to tend to the constitution of new privileges, but to the establishment of the same rights and duties for all."*

Many working-men maintain that there should be an immediate radical change in the constitution of the workshop, and that all production should take place, hereafter, under the principle of co-operation. According to them, the workmen of every shop ought to organize themselves into companies owning their own tools ; ought to contribute to the common product by their labor ; ought to be paid by receiving their fair share of the common product when it is created ; and ought to direct and govern the business of the workshop democratically, and by the majority rule. Among the objections to this scheme, the following may be mentioned : The company would have to buy their raw material, and sell their product, in the market ; and purchases and sales can seldom be conducted to good advantage by workmen in business meetings, and deciding matters by majority votes. Persons who know the least would talk the most ; persons of very little capacity would make the greater

number of the motions ; and much, if not all, of the time, would be wasted in determining points of order. "Many men, many minds." The company would probably end by employing a competent merchant to do their buying and selling. This merchant, a man outside the solidarity of the co-operators, would be able to direct his purchases and sales to his own advantage, and would, almost inevitably, usurp a privileged position. Furthermore, since working-men differ in capacity and assiduity, and since combined production requires a central direction, a manager, or foreman, with authority to discriminate in the matter of wages, would be found necessary. This manager would be a privileged person ; and the company would be in his power. If they should quarrel with him, he would move into the next street, set up a workshop for himself on the wages principle ; and nearly all the best workmen would go with him. He and the merchant would hold the company in their hands. If the co-operative workshop should be under the patronage and charge of the State, the case of the workmen would be still worse ; for privileged positions would be created in the company for the purpose of providing places for mere politicians, or for the exercise of nepotism.

The success of the co-operative principle in companies organized for consumption [protective-union stores], and in mutual insurance-companies, is conceded. The success of productive enterprises carried on under the principle of industrial partnership, which is a mixed wages-and-share system, with the important risks falling on the employers, is also conceded.

But the hitherto uniform failures of strictly co-operative companies *for production*\* render it necessary that the International Association should patiently wait, before it gives its approval to any scheme of co-operative production, until that scheme shall have been thoroughly thought out, and until a guaranty shall be given that it will not "tend to the constitution of new privileges."

"The General Statutes" state the third fundamental principle of the Association in the words following :—

*"The subjection of the laborer to capital is the source of all political, moral, and material servitude."*

Many labor-reformers affirm that the fact of **WAGES** is the special source of the political, moral, and material servitude of the working-men to their employers. These reformers say, "Wages is slavery; and the man who works at wages sells himself and his children for slaves."

The word "wages" is old, and was current among English-speaking people, with its present meaning, long before the existing *wages-system* came into being. According to the common popular sense of the word in New England at the present day, a man may say, I *wage* a dollar, I *wage* a horse, meaning, I *bet* a dollar, I *bet* a horse.† The word "wages" implies an element of risk. If a competent person devise some important undertaking, provide himself with capital,

\* Several members of the International to whom this statement has been submitted find fault with it, and say they have known co-operative societies for production that were carried on *democratically*, and that the societies have created no privileged positions, and have prospered.

† The French verb *gager* signifies, in like manner, either *to engage at wagers*, or *to bet*.

hire working-people at wages, and begin to carry out his plans, the money he advances from day to day, or from week to week, to the working-people, in wages, is money *wagered* by him; for the undertaking may ultimately fail, and yield no return for the outlay. The workingman *wagers* his pay for the current day only, or for the current week; but the employer *wagers* all that he invests in the undertaking. If the undertaking be carried on according to a share-system, and not according to a wage-system, the workman will have to contribute his share of the capital in the beginning, and wait for his pay and his share of the profits, until the work is ended, and the product is transmuted into money; the workman risking the loss, in the case of failure, not only of the capital by him contributed, but also of all the labor he has expended. Perhaps every one is willing to hold shares in privileged joint stock companies, and to receive a percentage, without himself working, of the product of other people's labor; but for every one person who is willing to work upon a strictly equitable share-system, taking his own risks, and insuring himself, a hundred other persons will probably be found who prefer to work at stipulated wages. Working-men are not, as a general thing, of the opinion, that "the man who works at wages sells himself and his children for slaves." The phrase, "wages is slavery," first put forth in the neighborhood of Boston, some twenty-five years ago, by the Brook Farm Fourierists, has met with a temporary but undeserved success.

The wages of labor are determined, under the *existing system*, by competition in the labor-market; the

employers striving, through combinations among themselves, and the exercise of legal and political privileges, to lower the rate of the workman's remuneration, while the workmen strive, through counter-combinations, and other processes, to raise the rate of their own pay.

Properly-directed and successful labor always leaves a profit ; and it is a mistake to suppose, with some of the extreme labor-reformers, that all profit is extortion and robbery. When Robinson Crusoe was alone in his island, he planted seed which he had providentially put away in his pocket ; and, from the consequent harvest, he laid aside seed for the next year, and had enough left to supply him with food, *and a little more*. This little more was clear *profit*.\* Nature worked with Robinson, giving him an increased product, and making no charge for her aid. By saving up, every year, *the little more*, Robinson placed himself, ultimately, beyond the fear of immediate want ; in short, he became a rich man, although he had no money, and no use for money. This wealth was not the fruit of extortion ; for he was all alone in his island. The accumulation of profits which made him to be a rich man was due, in part, to his own industry and economy, in part, to the bounty of Nature. None of it was profit on *other men's labor* (that is, *stealings*, or *exploitation de l'homme par l'homme*) ; for there was no human being with him from whom he could filch any thing.

\* Fr. *profit*; It. *profitto*; L. *profectus*—*pro* and *facio*. Profit is any real and definitive gain or advantage. A man may derive *profit* from exercise, amusements, reading, meditation, religious instruction, trade, labor, political log-rolling, selling his vote, swindling, highway robbery, fraudulent *failures*, *breach of trust*, defrauding working-people of their wages, dishonestly *appropriating the just profits of other people*, and the like.

When Robinson's Man Friday joined him, the two worked together, partly on the share-system, and partly on the wage-system. Leaving out of consideration the wage-element, it may be affirmed, that Friday's fair claim upon the product of the joint labor of the two associates was just this: Friday was entitled to that exact part of the product which bore the same relation to the whole product, that the whole of the productive energy expended by Friday bore to the whole of the productive energy expended by the two men, Robinson and Friday. If we take the wage-element into consideration, the problem becomes much more complicated. Robinson furnished the seed and the tools, and also boarded Friday in the interval between seed-time and harvest. A share-system in which one partner furnishes materials and tools, and insures (whether in whole, or in part) the other partner's share of the product beforehand, by paying him instalments of that share every evening at sundown (whether in money or in kind, or in the shape of having given him, in the course of the day, three square meals), is as much a wage-system as it is a share-system. And, in the wage-system, the employer has a just right to charge something, according to the nature and amount of the risk, for insurance, and also something for his work in initiating and superintending the enterprise.\*

\* The great source of profits is found in the systematic association of labor; for the product of the labor of ten men working in combination, with judicious distribution of tasks, is very much more than ten times the product of the labor of either one of those men working isolatedly. Under the existing wages-system, the employers (except in the case where industrial partnerships are established) put in an unjust claim for *the whole* of this plus gain as their special pay for superintending the associated labor.

"The General Statutes" of the Working-People's Association make little, if any, reference, either to profits, or to the fact of wages: they declare no vain war against poverty in the abstract; neither do they denounce capital or the capitalists. They simply denounce that "*subjection of the workingman to capital*" which necessitates the *existing* wage-system, which creates the sovereignty of the capitalists, which makes an iniquitous division of profits inevitable, which causes the poverty of the working-people, and which brings about the existing political, moral, and material servitude of laborers to their employers.

Capital is innocent enough. What is capital? It is the surplus product of labor laid aside, and used in reproduction. It is wealth invested in trade, in manufactures, or in any business requiring expenditures with a view to profit.\* "The General Statutes" condemn, not capital at all, not the surplus product of labor, not profits saved up and used in reproduction, but "*the subjugation of the laborer to capital*," which is something altogether different. Capital is

\* Ice and water are the same, and yet different. Wealth not employed in reproductive uses is not capital, although it may become capital, just as ice may become water. Wealth is capital in a state of dormant possibility. The natural and necessary correlative of capital is labor. We say, instinctively, wealth and poverty, capital and labor; not wealth and labor, capital and poverty. Wealth embodies itself in a multitude of forms, as in sumptuous houses, magnificent furniture, useless articles of luxury, ten-thousand-dollar horses, capital, wages, and the like. Wealth set aside, not for reproductive purposes, but to be wantonly squandered in fast living, is not capital, for the simple reason that it is not employed as capital: in like manner, wealth hoarded up in a miserly way, without being invested in any business, is not capital. The following sentence is perfectly intelligible: "John's capital actually invested in his business is only ten thousand dollars; but he is really good for ten times as much money."

created by the laborer ; and the existing subjection of the laborer to capital is the result of an unnatural subjugation of a creator by its own creature. It is the abuse of capital, the unjust privilege of capital, its domination over the laborer, not capital itself, that is in fault.

"The General Statutes" state the fourth fundamental principle of the International Association in the following words :—

*"The economic emancipation of the working-people is the great aim and object to which all political movements ought to be subordinated."*

Many labor-reformers say that the working-people, as such, should have nothing whatever to do with politics. They say that the political question should be kept distinct from the social or economic question. They say, that by holding up vivid pictures before the community of the horrors of tenement-houses, and of the sufferings of the innocent poor, also pictures of the vice and immorality that infect great cities, generous men among the capitalists may be moved to do something to ameliorate the condition of the poorer and more numerous classes. They say, in effect, that more is to be expected from the sentimental charity of the privileged classes than can be obtained in the way of strict justice. The International thinks otherwise. Many members of the International are of the opinion, that, if strict justice were once established in the world, the tables would be turned, and that some persons who are now dispensing charity to the poor would be receiving charity at the hands of the *working people*.

"The subjugation of the working-man to capital" is not an ultimate fact: there are grounds and reasons for that "subjugation." Those grounds and reasons are to be found in positive and arbitrary legislation, which creates privileges. Protective tariff laws enhance the price of products, and so carry diminished consumption, and consequent privation, into every poor household in the land: they, moreover, strengthen and confirm the control of the labor-market by capital. Arbitrary privileges granted to chartered corporations translate themselves into outrages upon wage-laborers. Restrictions upon the use of a circulating medium based on products — whether those restrictions take the form of swindling banking-laws, or of laws (such as those borne on the Massachusetts Statute-book) prohibiting the circulation of bills-of-exchange, due-bills, checks and drafts, and the like, as currency — deprive the working-man of natural and just rights, and put him at disadvantage. It is not necessary to speak of railroad monopolies, of the giving-away of public lands to speculators, and of a thousand kindred iniquities. All laws creating privileges tend and work to defraud the working-man of his fair wages; and it is by the operation of tyrannical and wicked positive laws, and not, as is sometimes calumniously affirmed, by the improvidence of the laborer, that the working-man has been and is brought into "subjection" to capital. That subjection is, therefore, arbitrary, artificial, and not natural: it is contrary to the normal order of things. It is impossible to organize a privilege in favor of the working-man, as such; for, as soon as a *working-man* is privileged, he is a member of the

favored classes, and must exercise his privilege, if at all, to the detriment of working-people. The International Association, in its Inaugural Address of 1864, defines its position as follows : " Landlords and money-lords will always make use of their political privileges to defend their economic privileges. Instead of helping on the emancipation of labor, they will continue to clog it with all possible obstacles. *The achievement of political supremacy has, therefore, become THE FIRST DUTY of the working-class.*"

The apostle James, treating of a kindred topic, makes use of language which members of the International might, perhaps, refrain from employing ; partly on account of its extreme violence, and partly because it fails in discrimination, lumping together all denounced parties as equally criminal. Moreover, "the subjugation of the laborer to capital" results in a withholding from him of his just wages, not by fraud only, as specified by the apostle, but also by actual governmental force. The laborer is robbed as well as cheated. The privilege of capital is guaranteed by the courts, and defended by the whole armed power of the State, military and naval. Saint James says,\* "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver are cankered, and the

\* It is contrary to the principles of the International to enter upon the discussion of questions of sectarian religion. No such discussion is intended in this place. Texts of Scripture were quoted, in the hearing of members of the International, at a labor-reform meeting, as bearing upon the principles maintained by the Association. Other texts are here added to those that were then quoted. That is all.

rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasure together for the last days. Behold, the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth." Woe to them that bring about iniquity by law! The prophet Micah says, "Woe to them that devise iniquity, and work evil upon their beds! — when the morning is light, they practise it, because it is in the power of their hand." The prophet Habakkuk says, "Woe to him that buildeth a town with blood, and establisheth a city by iniquity!" The prophet Amos says, "Hear this, O ye that swallow up the needy, even to make the poor to fail from the land, that ye may buy the poor for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes!" The prophet Isaiah says, "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there is no more place, that they may be alone in the midst of the earth!" King Solomon says, "There is a generation that are pure in their own eyes, and yet is not washed of their filthiness; a generation, O how lofty are their eyes! and how their eyelids are lifted up! a generation whose teeth are as swords, and their jaw-teeth as knives, to devour the poor from off the earth, and the needy from among men. The horse-leech hath two daughters" (land-monopoly and money-monopoly), "crying, Give, give!"

Economic laws creating privileges are usually enacted at the instance of persons intent upon private interest, and for temporary purposes, without fore-

sight of the permanent privileges which those laws create. For example, the banking-laws were passed in the interests of the stockholders and officers of the banks, without any special intention, or even thought, of annoying the working-people in their exchanges of labor for labor. The giving-away of the public lands was, and is, for the purpose of enriching the persons who received them, and are receiving them, not for the purpose of leaving future generations of working-men without homes. The immediate purpose is to cheat and rob the people, not to enslave them. The whole thing is one of short-sighted avarice, rather than of concerted ambition; and the subjection of the laborer comes incidentally only, and "without observation." The servitude of the working-class is of indirect but efficacious **LEGAL** origin: the emancipation of the working-class must come, therefore, the nature of the State being what it now is, from political action, resulting, not in the making of new laws,—for very few new laws, perhaps none, are called for,—but in the repeal of all existing laws that breed and hatch out privileges. It is for this reason that "the achievement of political supremacy by the working-class has become A DUTY."

The members of the International are no office-seekers. They are confident, that, with the abolition of privileges, nine-tenths of the existing political offices, since they are constituted as privileges, and with a view to the protection of privileges, will also be abolished. The abolition of privileges would also abolish the necessity for ninety-nine one-hundredths of the current legislation. Many members of

the International maintain that office-holders should no longer be paid, as they are now, fancy salaries, but that they should be paid, like other working-men, simple working-men's wages. This plan succeeded well in the Commune of Paris, during the siege, and provided a superior class of public functionaries. Better men, and more competent men, taken directly from the working-class, were hired by the Commune, at a dollar and a half per day, than had been hired by the old governments at five times those wages. If special honor is attached to any position, that honor should be counted as a part of the wages ; and the pay in money should be proportionably less. If there were no privileges to be protected, the necessities for political government would go on gradually diminishing ; and the social autonomy of the people would gradually establish itself outside of the government. "The best government is the government which governs least." The public treasury ought to be kept at all times nearly empty, so that knaves and adventurers may not be tempted to thrust their fingers into it. The people should be rich, and the government should be very poor. The triumph of the International would throw an effectual wet blanket on the existing lust for public positions, and would cause a return to productive pursuits, and to day's wages, of many very brilliant, but now worse than useless, members of society. It is difficult to assign a valid reason why clerks and officials in the Custom House and in the City Hall should be better paid than the members of the Brighton Artillery [*les vidangeurs*], or as well paid. The Brighton

Artillery works more hours, and at very repulsive tasks. The evil of the existing system is this: not that the working-people work for wages, but that wages are not regulated according to amounts of real labor performed, and that the highest wages are paid to persons who do no real work, or very little work, or work extremely deleterious to the community.

The working-man ought to have *the whole* of his fair earnings; but he cannot have this *whole*, if other parties are first paid the triple, or the quadruple, of what they respectively earn: for there would not be enough of the product of labor left to go round. If the working-man is cheated out of one-half his wages by material complications that are understood neither by the privileged classes nor by himself, and the favored classes give him back, in the form of charity, one-half of the half which they have unwittingly filched from him, the privileged classes will enjoy the consciousness of having performed good deeds, and the laboring-man will experience the sentiment of natural gratitude. Thus an unjust system that defrauds the laborer of one-fourth of his earnings will wrongly receive the sanction of man's moral nature; and the *prestige* of privilege will be strengthened. This is said of the times of men's ignorance. To-day, however, when the light is beginning to shine clearly, and all classes are beginning to see the truth, the project of refusing to pay a man the whole of his just due, and to give him a part of it only, and a part of that part in the form of charity, and with philanthropic pretexts,—is simply the addition of

unpardonable insult to already existing material outrage. The force of hypocrisy can go no further in the way of fraudulent pretence.

What is required at the present time is not so much equality before the laws as *equal laws*: that is to say, laws that do not themselves bring forth and perpetuate inequality; for laws organizing privilege have not, of necessity, a respect for particular persons; since they may have the effect to render it inevitable that a privileged class shall exist, without themselves designating the persons who are to compose that class. The privileged man of the period may say, "I took the world as I found it; and by taking the world as I took it, since we both of us have to deal with the same world, you also may perhaps, if you show the same talent, diligence, and perseverance that I showed, attain to a position similar to the one I hold. There is equality after all; for every one of us faces the same chances." The college sophomore may say to the freshman, "I kick you in accordance with time-honored custom; but I, also, was kicked, in my time, by my predecessors; and, if you wait patiently, you may, in your turn, kick your successors. There is an equality in the matter; for, ultimately, all kick, and all are kicked." Would there not be a better equality, and at the same time more justice and more dignity, if no one should kick, and no one should be kicked? Justice—not equal chances in injustice, not the satisfaction of knowing that you may, if you have luck, bite as much as you are bitten, and eat as much as you are eaten—ought to govern the world.

The fifth principle of the International Association is announced under the form of a statement of historical fact, as follows : —

*"All efforts for the emancipation of the working-class have failed, heretofore, because there has been no solidarity between workmen of different trades in the same country, and no fraternal union among the working-people from one country to another. The emancipation of the working-people is not a mere local and national problem, but is, on the contrary, a problem which interests all civilized nations equally."*

This statement of fact is directed against the heresies of those working-men who believe that men are necessarily to each other as wolves ; who believe that exclusive selfish interest is a proper and legitimate motive of action ; who believe that justice is a vain word ; who believe that the working-men have a natural right to "cut under" the working-women ; the working-people of one trade to "cut under," if occasion offers, the working-people of another trade ; and the working-people of one country to "cut under" the working-people of another country, whether by exporting laborers to countries where laborers are out on strikes against privilege, or by the enacting of unjust laws restricting free commerce.

The International Association is, as its name imports, like the Christian Church, a cosmopolitan, and not a national, institution. It is for peace, and against war : it favors the disbanding of all standing armies, including the Massachusetts State Police : it goes for the utter abolition of all impost-levying, all *passport-visiting* frontiers between nation and nation,

and for the complete solidarity of the people of each country with the people of every other country. It says with Benjamin Franklin, "Where liberty is, there is my country!" If the German Government and the French Government make war on each other, the German member of the International, and the French member of the International, like the German practical Christian, and the French practical Christian, continue to be brothers. The International Association, like the apostle Paul, knows neither race, nor condition, nor color, nor national distinctions. Saint Paul says, "There is neither Greek nor Jew, neither circumcision nor uncircumcision, neither Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; and there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." It is now 1873 years since the sentiment of exclusive patriotism, and of loyalty to existing national or sectional institutions, as such, has been morally out of date. The prophet Ezekiel, foretelling the advent of the typical non-privileged man, says, "Thus saith the Lord God, Remove the diadem, and take off the crown: exalt him that is low, and abase him that is high. I will overturn, overturn, overturn, it; and it shall be no more, until he come whose right it is: to him will I give it."

The authentic doctrine of the International Association is expressed with authority in the words following:—

"Against the collective power of the possessed classes, the dispossessed working-people can no otherwise act effectually as an opposing class than by constituting themselves into a distinct political party,

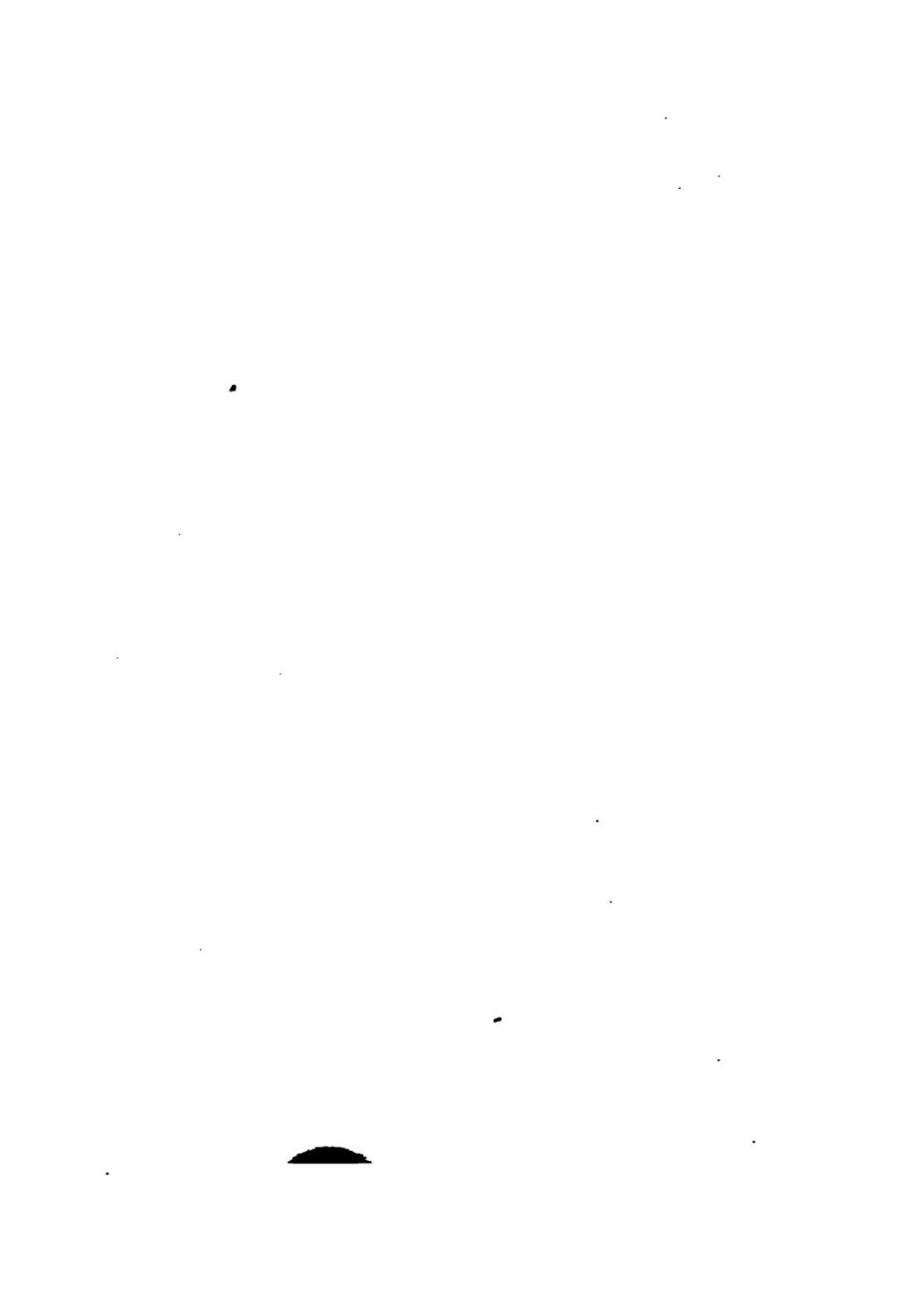
in antagonism to all the old parties formed by the possessed classes ; and this constitution of the dispossessed working-people into a political party is indispensably requisite in order to the assuring of a definitive triumph to the SOCIAL REVOLUTION in its supreme aim and object,—*the abolition of classes.*”

The sixth fundamental principle of the International Association is announced by “The General Statutes” in the following words :—

*“The working-people’s International Association recognizes Truth, Justice, Morality, as the proper rule of its own conduct, and that of all its adherents, towards all human beings, without distinction of color, faith, or nationality. The association claims human and civil rights, not only for its own members, but also for all persons who perform their duties. No duties without rights : no rights without duties.”*

This declaration condemns the heresy which affirms that the emancipation of the working-classes should be wrought out in accordance with the methods of procedure practised by the existing political and other militant parties. The International countenances no lying in the newspapers, or on the stump ; no misrepresentations of the character, actions, or motives, of its enemies ; no placing of its opponents in a false position before the people ; no bribery or cheating at elections ; no corruption of legislative bodies, or of executive officers ; no counting of votes not cast, or false counting of votes cast ; no making before election, or before appointment to office, of promises not intended to be kept ; no false pretences = no insincerity ; no rascality ; no baseness. The asso—

ciation looks with no complacency upon working-men who do no work, and spend their time in trading upon their own and their comrades' votes. On the contrary, the association says to the working-people, as Saint Paul said to the early Christians, "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."



## **CONCLUSION.**



## CONCLUSION.

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AFTER the foregoing pages were put in type, and while they were passing through the process of revision and correction, our attention was called to an article which appeared in the "Boston Evening Journal" of to-day (April 2, 1875), in which Mr. Edward Atkinson animadverts at length on the financial theories of Mr. Wendell Phillips. What Mr. Atkinson says in refutation of "Kelloggism" \* is, in our opinion, perfectly well grounded. We have ourselves said so much in opposition to "Kelloggism," — which is the fatally vulnerable element in the theories of Gen. Butler, Mr. Phillips, and the Western labor-reformers, — that we do not deem it necessary to adduce, in this place, the observations of Mr. Atkinson in point. Gen. Butler, Mr. Phillips, and the Western labor-reformers, may be cited in illustration of the general fact, that men with brains are sometimes capable of entertaining false financial views. We will now quote from the article in the "Journal" all that it has, in our opinion, of real value, and of present public interest, over and above the observations on "Kelloggism;"

\* "Kelloggism" teaches that the value of money is measured, not by its purchasing power, but by the rate of interest at which it can be loaned.

adding a few words of comment to the extracts we make. If we unwittingly pass over important matter, it will be because we are lacking in the faculty of appreciation, and not because we intend to do Mr. Atkinson any injustice. Mr. Atkinson says,—

“Mr. Phillips needs to consider that no one borrows money for its own sake, or pays interest for money itself: what is really borrowed is the capital which the money represents, or what it will purchase. When one borrows on a gold basis or a specie standard, both borrower and lender know the exact condition. When one borrows on a greenback or inconvertible standard, an uncertain element, an extraneous risk, enters in, and that is the risk of the variation of the standard itself; and, as it is an axiom in trade that all risks must be paid for in the long-run, the borrowers pay for all the fluctuations of the standard.

“Money is only a tool; and as the tool is good or bad, so will be the work done with it.

“It is necessary to separate the thing ‘money’ from the symbol and from its use, to separate its intrinsic value from the rate of interest that is paid for its use. Unless this separation is made, its function cannot be perceived, and it may even become impossible for one to put a question in relation to it that another of average brain can reply to.”

When a man sells and delivers merchandise to a well-known and responsible merchant, taking the merchant's properly indorsed note on time for the value of the same, — the note being thus, by the nature of the case, guaranteed by all the goods and assets of the merchant and of the merchant's indorsers, — and then carries that note to the bank, indorses it himself, and discounts it for ready money, the man in question deposits with the bank a valid claim for capital, and *therefore makes a virtual deposit of capital*; while, on

the other hand, the bank gives the man, in exchange for the note, its own circulating-paper to an amount equal in value to the face-value, less the discount, of the note ; which circulating-paper is again a valid claim for capital, and therefore virtual capital, because of its purchasing-power. For what real service rendered by the bank does the man pay the discount ? Neither party owes any thing to the other for the use of capital, because the obligation on the one side is the same that it is on the other. Between the man and the bank, there is an even exchange of virtual capital for virtual capital. The bank's customer pays the discount for the convenience of having in his hand, in the stead of his note (which represents engaged, and, for the moment, non-available, capital), *ready money*, with which he may make immediate purchases, or pay debts at the moment falling due. The discount is paid for the use of the *ready money*, not for the use of capital.

Without doubt, the dollar, which is *the measure of value*, ought, as Mr. Atkinson says, to itself have as fixed and certain a value as it is possible for men to confer upon it, and to be referred to the most unvarying natural *standard of value* known among men, in order that the processes of trade, including discounting, may remain safe processes. Mr. Atkinson says, also, —

“ It was also discovered, a great many years since, that interest upon capital, and the value of money, were two distinct things ; and it is about as extraordinary for a man of moderate scholarship to confound them now as it would be to contest the law of gravitation, or to declare that the world was flat.”

We are glad to hear Mr. Atkinson say these fine things, but were not aware that the world had made such progress as he affirms.

"It is difficult to comprehend the extraordinary confusion of thought which is implied in the notion that the rate of interest is determined and established by banks, or by any thing but the supply of and demand for the capital that money represents. It would be as sensible for Mr. Phillips to affirm that manufacturers alone fixed the price of cotton goods, or that landlords alone fixed the price of rents."

When a man has a note discounted at a bank, his note, if it is the exponent of a regular business transaction, represents actual capital (ships, flour, pork, tobacco, or the like, *sold*, and for which payment is due) as contradistinguished from ready money; and the bank furnishes him, in exchange for his note (which is by express legislation not money, and of which the circulation as money is prohibited under the penalty of a fine) with *ready money as contradistinguished from capital*. And it is singular, that, in this matter, the note made good by actual security should pay for the use of the money, and that the money should pay nothing for the guaranty afforded it by note, and the capital represented by it. The money, as such, does not, as Mr. Atkinson affirms, directly represent capital; for it represents claims of the United States for taxes; or else it represents bonds deposited with the comptroller of the currency, which bonds represent the indebtedness of the Federal Government for property used up in war, and not yet paid for, and which no longer actually exists; or, finally, it indirectly represents the capital which is

directly represented by the note of the bank's customer: it is the obligation of the bank's customer that is the immediate representative of *capital*. There is here, as Mr. Atkinson observes, some extraordinary confusion of thought. Mr. Atkinson says again,—

“Mr. Phillips has recognized the authority of Prof. Bonamy Price; but it is to be doubted if he has ever read his admirable lectures on the principles of currency: if he had, he would not confound the variations in the practice of banking and the issue of currency with the principles and quality of money.”

We do not fully take in the force and bearing of these remarks. Whatever circulates as money—does the work of the “tool,” *money—is* money. “Currency issues” circulate as money. Mr. Atkinson says,—

“Let this Legal Tender Act of ours, which impairs our liberty of choice, be repealed, and provision made to pay or fund the demand debt which these notes promise, and nothing could prevent the specie standard from being restored, *not* by force of law, but by universal consent. There is no law, and never was, to compel men to use gold or silver as money, though there have been many to prevent them. Bad money legalized drives away good money.”

Mr. Atkinson might be more convincing if he would study carefulness of statement. The legal-tender notes promise no “demand debt.” The greenbacks do not profess to be payable “on demand.” It would be a fraud on the people to fund the (so-called) “demand debt,” and make it an interest-bearing debt. The people pay interest-money enough already. The *proper way to call in the greenbacks, if they are to be*

called in at all, is to receive them in payment of taxes, and burn them. Mr Atkinson says, furthermore,—

“ Does Mr. Phillips put forward the idea that land shall be made the basis of a currency as a *new* improvement, in ignorance of the fact that such a plan was tried in Massachusetts more than a hundred years ago, and that it led to fraud, confusion, and utter stagnation of trade? Is he not aware that Sam Adams, the father of the patriot, founded such a bank about the middle of the last century? ”

We are glad to learn and to believe that Sam Adams, the father of the patriot, founded a land bank. And we will believe that land banks have led, in Massachusetts, to fraud, confusion, and utter stagnation of trade, whenever Mr. Atkinson will furnish evidence that they have done so. Of what consequence is it whether Mr. Phillips’s plan is new or old? Grant that it is old: the question then arises, Is this *old plan*, now once again brought forward by Mr. Phillips, a *good plan*, or a *bad plan*?

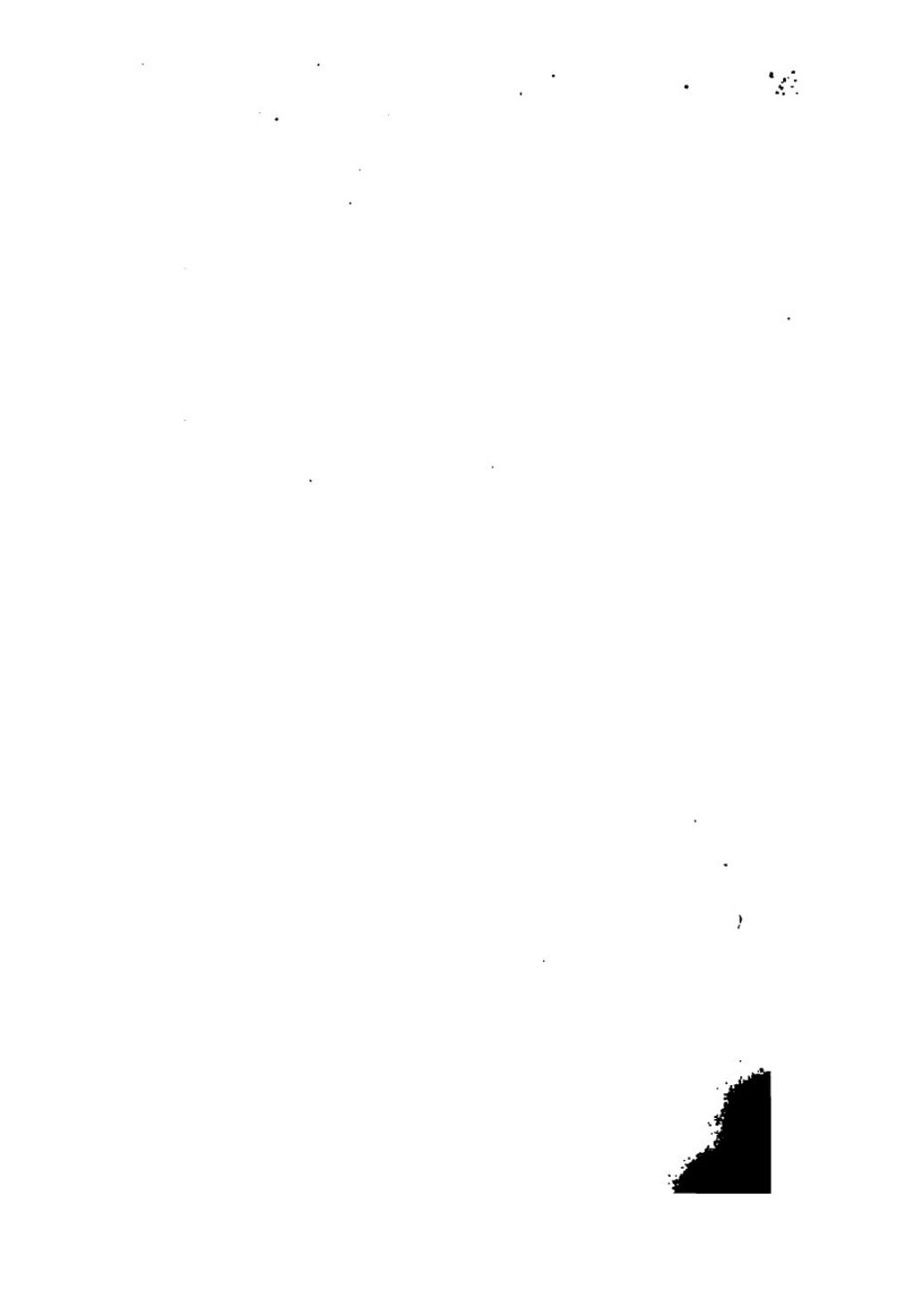
We are confident that Mr. Atkinson, after some further reflection on the distinction he himself draws between capital and money, will become convinced that the interest on capital may, and sometimes quite properly, range very high, since it covers actual risk, wear, and tear, the inconvenience to the owner of being kept out of the use of his property, and a thousand other things; while the rate of discount at the counter of a bank *that issues paper money* ought always to be kept very low,—say from one to one and one-half per cent,—because the bank never lends (or never ought to lend) except on perfectly satisfactory *security*, and because the rate of discount for mere

money (the "tool" whereby exchanges of capital are effected) ought to just cover, and not more than cover, the expenses of rent, paper, printing, officers' salaries, the average of loss from bad debts, and the legitimate incidental minor expenditures of the bank issuing the money. The paper money of the bank is good, because it takes none but good notes from its customers, and the notes of the customers fully guarantee the notes of the bank. All profits, therefore, of a bank of issue belong rightfully to the customers of the bank, and ought to be divided back to them ; for the customers furnish the capital when they make over their notes to the bank, and they then pay the officers' salaries, and the other proper expenses of the bank, in the discount they give when their notes are transmuted into current money. The customers themselves are the only stockholders that the bank has any call to have. A commercial bank *that issues paper money* ought *as such* to be a mere clearing-house for legitimate business paper running to maturity.

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